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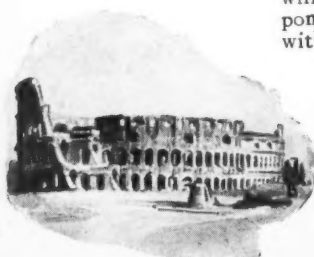
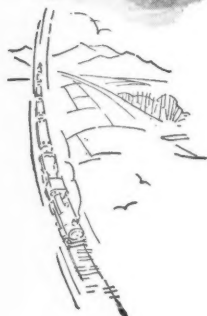
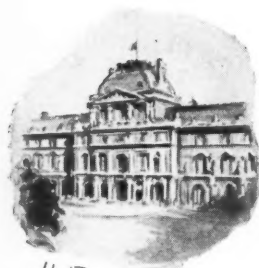
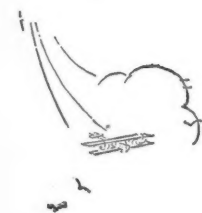


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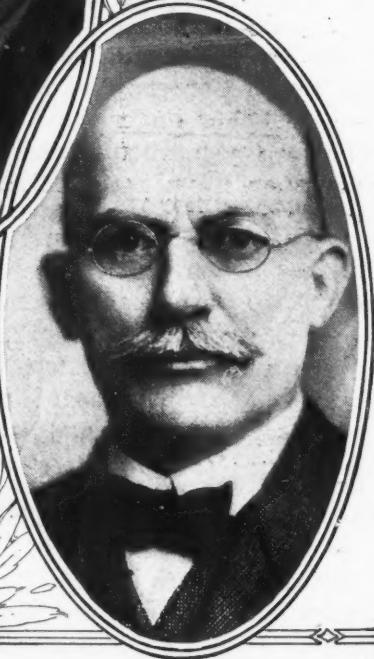
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The Nationalist-Labor Victory in South Africa

By E. D. MOREL

Member of the British Parliament; editor of Foreign Affairs (London);
Chairman of the Union of Democratic Control

THE defeat of General Jan Christian Smuts and the South African Party in the recent general election, followed by his resignation as Prime Minister of the Union, caused a momentary sensation in Great Britain. The press had almost unanimously taken the view that Smuts's sudden appeal to the country—an election was not expected until late in 1925—had taken the Opposition unawares and would result in a substantial victory. So decisive was the setback he received that Smuts lost his own seat in Parliament, and would not be a member today had not one of his followers made way for him by resigning from a safe constituency, for which Smuts has since been elected.

Smuts's personality is well known in Great Britain and he had rather captured the imagination of the British public. He took a prominent part in the peace negotiations and during the last Imperial Conference he published a statement on the European situation which won him world-wide publicity. Altogether he was something of a hero to the British public. Handsome, able, outspoken, a successful General, who won his spurs in campaigns for and against the empire, a brilliant speaker, he had all the necessary attributes of a newspaper hero. Moreover, his proved loyalty to the empire, together with his far-sighted liberalism in world politics, marked him out for the approval of the British Liberals. Curiously enough, this opinion was not shared by the Liberals and Radicals of his own country, who regarded him as a hard-bitten imperialist and a ruthless reactionary—at any rate in domestic politics. Of his ability there could be no two opinions.

General James Barry M. Hertzog, the leader of the Nationalists, on the other hand, has been for many years the victim of gross misrepresentation and the most violent abuse from all the English papers of the Union of South Africa. In Britain little is known of his sterling honesty and fervent devotion to South Africa, which has won for him the worship of the "back veldt" Dutch and even of many of the struggling English-speaking farmers. For twelve years—ever since he was forced to resign from the Botha Cabinet of 1912—Hertzog has been in the political wilderness, fighting dourly and sometimes violently against a quicker-minded and "slimmer" opponent. But of all this Britishers knew nothing. To them he was the extremist, the irreconcilable Dutchman, the advocate of "secession" and "republicanism"—the de Valera of South Africa.

"Republicanism," as a matter of fact, was not an issue at this election, if indeed it ever was so. At the last general election in 1921 General Smuts took advantage of certain indiscreet statements by certain lesser-known Nationalist leaders and succeeded in forcing the question of "republicanism" into the forefront of the political battle. His immediate object was to attach to the South African Party, then predominantly Dutch, the English-speaking citizens of the Union, who at that time were organized either in the Unionist Party or in the Labor Party. On polling day Smuts issued an appeal calling for "the support of all right-minded South Africans irrespective of party or race * * * in fighting secession." Again and again he stated that his policy was "South Africa a nation," while the slogan of

Hertzog and the Nationalists was "South Africa a republic." Throughout the election Hertzog strenuously denied that either "republicanism" or "secession" were issues at that election. He admitted that both he himself and most of his followers were convinced republicans, but maintained that all of them realized that a republic was not immediately attainable.

Whatever may have been the merits of this particular controversy Smuts's tactics won the election of 1921. The English-speaking electors, with recent memories of the South African war and still more recent memories of the abortive revolt during the great war, were successfully stampeded away from the ties of party allegiance. The Unionist Party actually allowed itself to be absorbed by the South African Party, of which it has formed ever since an influential section. Colonel Frederic H. P. Creswell and the other leaders of the Labor Party, representing organized labor, refused to join the coalition. But many thousands of the English-speaking members of the party repudiated their leaders and voted solidly for Smuts. The result was a substantial victory for the South African Party, who were returned with a majority of twenty-two over all other parties combined. Labor suffered the heaviest losses; Creswell himself was defeated and eleven out of twenty-one seats were lost. The Nationalists returned with their strength unchanged, but made no progress even in the country districts, where their strength was greatest.

SECESSION ISSUE SUSPENDED

The issues of the 1921 election were thus predominantly political. The questions of secession and republicanism were settled at any rate for some years to come. On this point General Hertzog again made his views perfectly plain, when, after the result of the recent election was already known, he made the following statement on June 21, 1924:

The Nationalists are, without exception, determined to stand by their pledge given to Labor. I say positively that the Nationalists do not look upon secession as a matter of practical politics and are not likely to do so until the rest of the people, and especially the mass of British people, are in favor of it.

On this particular question of secession various sections of the South African Party were united. Unfortunately for Smuts however, the dominant issues of the after-war period were not political but economic. The world-wide slump, which followed the short-lived post-war boom, brought with it a host of thorny problems for the Government of South Africa. The South African Party included widely different schools of thought. Protectionists and free traders, inflationists and deflationists, agriculturists and manufacturers, found it difficult to adopt and maintain a common economic policy such as the crisis demanded. But all these dissident elements had one aim in common. They represented the property-owning classes of the country and were in fact a "capitalist" party. Consequently the influence of the Government was thrown into the scales against the demands of the wage-earners. Bills intended to improve the conditions of the workers were held up in committee or in the Senate. Wages continued to fall rapidly, while prices remained unduly high. Special industries received benefits at the expense of the consumer.

The opposition parties were meanwhile beginning to draw closer together. They shared a common personal hostility to the Prime Minister and a common hatred of capitalism—hated by the Labor men as a system and by the Nationalists as an emanation from overseas. Again, many of the Nationalist supporters were small farmers, who suffered severely from the world-wide slump in agricultural prices. Moreover, the number of Dutch-speaking members of the working class has been increasing rapidly. By some it is reckoned as high as 75 per cent. of the whole. Among the miners in the Rand mines at least 80 per cent. of the white workers are Dutch.

Although these were important factors in the rapprochement between the two parties, together with the obvious political consideration that a purely racial party was unlikely to obtain an absolute majority in the Union, there were also very serious and fundamental differences in the outlook and programs

of the two parties. The Labor Party was pledged to a definitely Socialist objective, which is thus defined in the party platform:

The socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic State in the interests of the whole community.

To secure for the producers by hand or brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of life and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry and service.

Such an objective was hardly likely to commend itself to a party whose supporters consisted chiefly of small farmers.

On the other hand, Colonel Creswell was very emphatic on the question of the imperial connection. Claiming to speak for the bulk of English-speaking South Africans, he has always maintained that secession was not a matter for argument. For the overwhelming majority the question of membership of the British Commonwealth of Dominions was a matter of affection and no more to be argued about than the Dutch-speaking South Africans' attachment to their own language.

EFFECT OF RAND STRIKE

In spite of these apparently fundamental differences events were fast driving the Nationalist and Labor Parties into a close embrace. The eventual agreement was undoubtedly facilitated by the fact that the leaders of the two parties were themselves moderates rather than extremists. As has already been pointed out, General Hertzog, in spite of the generally accepted view, is essentially a moderate and an opportunist. Colonel Creswell is equally averse to extremism of any kind. He belongs rather to the old type of Labor leader, and in Great Britain would be labeled "sane trade unionist." Nevertheless, the extremists of both parties were the unwitting agents who brought about the union of the two parties, for it was the events arising out of the Rand strike or revolution that made such union inevitable, and it was the extreme Nationalists on the one hand and the extreme Socialists on the other that strove to exploit a purely economic struggle and

convert it into a revolutionary movement, with the object of overthrowing the Government and setting up a republic. The extremists on both sides were repudiated by the leaders and the majority of their parties, but their common action on behalf of the strikers and the bitter hatred aroused by Smuts's drastic repression of the revolution were undoubtedly the most powerful factors in bringing about the Labor-Nationalist pact which has now resulted in the defeat of the Smuts Government. The Rand strike had such an important effect on the position of the Government and the relations between the Labor and Nationalist Parties that some account of it is necessary to a full understanding of the present situation.

In December, 1921, a protest was made against proposals put forward by the Chamber of Mines to introduce into the mines an increased proportion of native labor, involving the dismissal of 400 white miners. The employers argued that the low-grade mines could not longer be profitably worked on any other basis. The miners retorted that the proposals were a breach of existing agreements and would involve the speedy elimination of the white workers. Early in 1922 the Smuts Government intervened with proposals for a compromise. The month of January was spent in fruitless negotiations, and eventually General Smuts advised the Chamber of Mines to reopen the mines and offered protection to miners who went back to work. The next day the Federation of Trade Unions published a manifesto containing the following appeal to the Nationalist members of Parliament:

That in the opinion of the Augmented Executive of the South African Industrial Federation and the Joint Executives of all unions concerned in the present disputes, the attitude of the Prime Minister indicates that the Government is backing the present attack by the employers on the white workers in reducing their standard of living and curtailing their opportunity of employment.

We, therefore, request the workers and all sympathizers to take the necessary steps in conjunction with ourselves to defeat the present Government and substitute one calculated to protect the interests of the white race in South Africa.

That, with this end in view, a conference be arranged at once with representatives of the opposition parties in Parliament to investigate what immediate steps

can be taken to remedy the present situation, and that invitations be extended to all bodies that can and are desirous of assisting to come and offer their services for the foregoing objects.

This invitation was immediately taken up by Tielman Roos, the leader of the Transvaal Nationalists. The Nationalists assisted the strikers by supplying food contributed by their farmer members. They encouraged them by insisting that the country was behind them and against the "infamous alliance" which they alleged existed between the Government and the Chamber of Mines. They formed the majority of the "commandos," or bodies of strikers in military formation, which sprang up during the strike. On Feb. 5, 1922, a mass meeting of Nationalists in Johannesburg passed the following resolution:

That this mass meeting of citizens is of opinion that the time has arrived when the domination of the Chamber of Mines and other financiers should cease, and to that end we ask the members of Parliament assembled in Pretoria tomorrow to proclaim a South African Republic and to form a Provisional Government for this country.

SMUTS'S DRASTIC MEASURES

This resolution was promptly repudiated by the more sober Nationalists, but the cooperation of Nationalists and Labor members continued to give the strike a definitely political character. Toward the end of February collisions between the "commandos" and the police became more frequent and some casualties occurred. Early in March the federation was displaced by a Council of Action, composed of the extreme elements among the strikers. Shortly afterward a general strike was declared and rapidly assumed a revolutionary character. By March 10 all the suburbs of Johannesburg were in the hands of the strikers. The Government, which had so far taken no drastic action, declared martial law and mobilized some 20,000 troops. After sporadic fighting the rebels were overpowered, with losses which amounted to 138 killed and 287 wounded. The "revolution" was over and the Government had triumphed.

For General Smuts, however, the political consequences were serious. The alliance between Labor and the Nationalists was already cemented in the

Transvaal, where Tielman Roos had announced his intention of joining forces with the Labor Party at the next election. Moreover, Smuts had won the undying hatred of organized labor throughout the Union. In Parliament he was the object of a bitter personal attack by General Hertzog, who argued that similar occurrences in the past showed that Smuts was a hardened exponent of the policy of "frightfulness." He also accused Smuts of deliberately allowing the situation to develop to a point where the strikers were driven by despair to acts of violence and that the Government had then proceeded, in obedience to the dictates of the Chamber of Mines, to crush the strike by force and break organized labor. This view was naturally acclaimed by the Labor Party and helped to cement the already close understanding between the two parties.

From then onward conversations proceeded between General Hertzog and Colonel Creswell. Earlier in the year Creswell had proposed an amendment to the platform of Labor which would have actually deleted the two definite Socialist clauses previously quoted. He was, however, unable to secure the adoption of this amendment, but a modification of the clauses was eventually passed. His object was then to obtain a similar concession on the part of the Nationalists with regard to secession. After prolonged negotiations Creswell was satisfied on this point, and on April 21, 1923, the actual terms of the pact were published in the form of a letter from Colonel Creswell to General Hertzog, in which the results of certain conversations were summarized as follows:

TEXT OF THE PACT

1. We found ourselves broadly in agreement in our view that the present Government acts as though dominated by the conviction that the interests of this country are best served by its taking what may be termed the "big finance" view of our various internal and economic problems; that its policy is not only injuring the present welfare of the country, but is seriously jeopardizing our destiny as a civilized people; and that the necessity to combat this trend of policy, which has been growing continuously more pronounced in recent years, is largely the cause of the common opposition of our two parties to the present Government and the party supporting it.

2. We next examined whether there was any legitimate basis upon which we could recommend cooperation between our two parties, at all events, so far as elections were concerned. It is clearly undesirable, if it can be avoided, to facilitate the election of Government candidates on a minority vote by splitting in three-cornered contests the votes of those opposed to the Government's policy.

3. The most obvious difficulty in the way of any such cooperation being effective is the fact that, quite irrespective of the real views and intentions of yourself and your party, the South African Party propaganda has inoculated numbers of the English-speaking section of the people in many parts of the country with the belief that if your party achieved power you would at once set about trying to "cut the painter" and establish a republic—the old secession bogey, in fact, of the 1921 election. In a lesser degree possibly, a few dwellers in the country districts have been induced to believe that the Labor Party is a Bolshevik group, whose dearest wish is to decapitate or otherwise maltreat all owners of any property, or some such absurdity.

As the former point was so successfully drummed into the public mind at the last election, it is the more practically important to dispose of. Leaving aside the fact that, in common with the big bulk of Labor supporters, I am, as you know, unalterably opposed to any "cutting the painter," I pointed out that this is a matter upon which the great majority of English-speaking South Africans are very sensitive, and that an essential condition of any such election cooperation being effective was an explicit declaration on your side to reassure them that their votes at the next general election would not be used contrary to their desires in this matter.

In this regard you said that, while no member of your party could be expected, any more than any member of the Labor Party, to renounce his freedom to express, inside or outside of Parliament, any views he may hold on this or any other matter, you were able to give this explicit undertaking to electors at the next general election, viz., that in the Parliament which will then be elected, should a Nationalist Government come into power, no Nationalist member of Parliament will use his vote to upset the existing constitutional relation of South Africa to the British Crown. We agreed that under these circumstances we could quite properly recommend to our respective parties election cooperation on the lines indicated in Paragraph 2 of this letter.

Indeed, the fact of such cooperation would be in itself an earnest of our sense of the urgent need that the next Parliament should devote itself single-mindedly to domestic measures required to promote the prosperity of the country upon the lines more congenial to its people than those at present followed.

4. Pursuing our discussions, we recognized that the logic of facts would compel the taking up of measures which both parties would probably, in principle, support. But we also recognized quite fully the great difference which today exists between our two parties, not only of political outlook, but also probably in the racial and other prejudices which influence large numbers of the habitual party supporters, and we were agreed that in any election cooperation which may take place in any constituency it should be understood that the candidate of whichever party, if elected, would owe allegiance to his own party and no other, and that any votes given to him by supporters of the other party should be given on this clear understanding.

To this General Hertzog replied:

I have carefully considered the statement submitted by you, and as it truly sums up the substance of our conversations, I have nothing further to add, except to give it my full confirmation, which I hereby do.

It will be noticed that, though General Hertzog gives a very explicit pledge on the secession issue, nothing is said as to any pledge on the part of Labor to modify its program. Apparently the modification already referred to was considered a sufficient pledge against any socialistic tendencies. No doubt it was also realized by both parties that there was no possibility of the Labor Party gaining sufficient seats to give it a majority or even numerical equality with the Nationalists.

The pact has naturally been denounced by its opponents as a piece of sordid political opportunism. It was described by Mr. Burton, an ex-Minister, as an agreement under which the Nationalists agreed not to steal the Union Jack for five years, while in return the Labor Party agreed not to steal the land—also for five years. The pact is, of course, a marriage of convenience or perhaps only a temporary connection. But it is based on quite clearly defined political and economic changes, which have brought the rank and file of the two parties into closer touch. It was formed in time to take advantage of the disfavor into which the South African Party had fallen after a spell of office which dates back to the formation of the Union. The pact has been approved in no uncertain fashion by the overwhelming majority of the South African electorate, and, following General Smuts's resignation on June 23, a Nationalist-Labor coalition Government has come into power with General Hertzog as Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs. As a result of the decision of the Labor Party convention at Johannesburg on June 30 to permit its members to accept Cabinet appointments, Colonel Creswell has become Minister of Defense and Labor and Thomas Boydell Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the new Administration. Whether the coalition will be successful in office the future alone can tell.

Brazil in the Throes of Revolt

By ERNESTO MONTENEGRO

PROBABLY it will be weeks or perhaps months before we are able to learn all that happened during the revolt started in Brazil by State and Federal troops garrisoning the State capital of Sao Paulo and its port, Santos. The censorship has been so strict that even the diplomatic dispatches to the various Governments sent by their respective agents in Rio Janeiro have, according to newspaper reports, been suppressed. The little that is known through the enterprising Buenos Aires newspapers is sufficient, however, to gauge the purport of the movement in the light of recent events and of certain antecedent conditions.

The revolt being more in the nature of a military coup, its causes must be connected with the feeling of discontent in the powerful military party, whose last attempt, two years ago, to maintain its position in Brazilian politics was checked by the election of President Bernardes and the subsequent arrest of the soldier candidate, Marshal Da Fonseca, and many of his comrades. By coupling this with the recent announcement of President Bernardes, in his message to Congress, of his resolve to effect further economies in the military branch of the Government, we are furnished with a background for the present disturbance.

The assertion that the movement is limited to the two or three regiments which the official denial tries to present as the total of the armed forces that have risen against the Federal Administration is weakened by the same Government's anxious policy of censorship and by the extreme precautionary measure taken in Rio Janeiro and other leading cities. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible that the attempt of the military may come to an early failure, if, as the official information states, party organizations, national

and local, have signified their loyal support to the Federal Government.

The permanent causes of friction have nevertheless to be reckoned with. Among the conditions making for disunion is the enormous size of a country, loosely held together by a common language, but not sufficiently consolidated by communications and the interchange of ideas among the States. The formative period of a national consciousness, beginning with Dom Pedro I. and his wars for the maintenance of the southern frontier, is still far from complete, so that the Amazonian and the subtropical States are not yet sufficiently imbued with national sentiment to make impossible those recurrent expressions of the separatistic spirit that take the form of local revolutions. A country larger than the United States, with a coast line along which a modern ship may steam for eight or nine days without reaching its end, cannot expect the miracle of history or language bringing about perfect cohesion. Furthermore, Brazil is a country filled with large numbers of immigrants, mostly unasimilated. On the southern plateau, where the climate is more suitable to the European, over two million whites have settled in the last fifty years. At the time of the liberation of the slaves, in 1888, it was necessary for the National Government to open the country to the immigrant on the most generous terms. More than half a million Italians came under those conditions, having been assured all expenses, in addition to the right to teach their children in their native language. The Germans began to settle there in 1847, and, up to the time of the World War, had in the Southern States many colonies and even cities breathing the Teutonic spirit. Japanese have come later to live and strive by themselves in the rice fields.

A more immediate and more potent cause of disturbance is found in the

military caste, accustomed for a century to feed on the fat of the land and to look for the highest civil positions in the Government as their due reward. As many army or navy chiefs have been Presidents of the Brazilian Republic as have civilians. The raising of the national army forces to 50,000 under French instructors and the engagement of an American commission to modernize the navy have strained relations with Argentina, or at least caused recrimination between the newspapers of the two countries. Yet the Brazilian is not considered a disturber of the peace by the other South American powers. On the contrary, there is no one less warlike, as Brazil's bloodless revolutions have proved once and again. It is the militaristic and nationalistic elements that are to blame for keeping alive the spirit of competition in armaments among South American nations.

Nationalistic jealousy has recently found another pretext for disturbance in the fact that the French mission has been kept as the instructor of Brazilian officers for a new period. The preferential rank and salaries of the foreign officers are resented by the Brazilian military caste, but the immediate cause of discontent is to be found in the pride of the sensitive Creole. The measures of economy announced by President Bernardes are inspired by the purpose of the Brazilian Government to destroy the grip which the military party has in Brazilian politics, and reduce the army men to the non-partisan and purely professional activities that are the rule in all normal democracies.

The main source of discontent in Brazilian national politics is, however, economic. The present revolt is in fact, if not in the avowed purpose, a protest of the South, and especially of the wealthy and progressive State of Sao Paulo, against the "exploitation" of which it feels itself a victim at the hand of the Federal politicians. Sao Paulo has the best climate of the country and the richest agricultural resources. Coffee furnished the national

Government with 60 per cent. of its income, and the State of Sao Paulo produces 80 per cent. of this commodity. The State is also a large producer of cotton and also a manufacturer of textiles, with 20,000 workers and \$150,000,000 in finished products coming out of its mills every year. The State of Sao Paulo has more railroads and more manufacturing plants (7,000) than any other South American State. Its twenty-five banks have deposits of over \$200,000,000. The City of Sao Paulo grew from a town of some 50,000 in 1890 to the more than 500,000 inhabiting it at present. One million immigrants settled in the State of Sao Paulo between 1885 and 1900. At its port of Santos 1,500 steamers call every year for the exclusive purpose of carrying to the markets of the world its 12,000,000 bags of coffee. To give a last instance of prosperity and natural wealth, the annual income of the State is larger than that of Mexico or Cuba.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand why the people of Sao Paulo claim more consideration on the part of the National Government. As it is, they believe that the politicians in Rio de Janeiro are concerned only about the export duties on the native products. "Coffee was a great blessing until the Central Government discovered it," is the way the Sao Paulo planter looks at it. Inhaling a more bracing air, living among ambitious men and women come from Europe and North America (Sao Paulo has direct descendants of several families that left the Southern United States for Brazil after the Civil War), the native-born citizen of Sao Paulo cannot reconcile himself to the ways of the people in the torrid littoral, and he often speaks of breaking away from the more slowly moving and corrupt elements of the other Brazilian States. If the military party and the industrial leaders of Sao Paulo could find common ground on which to work together, the outlook for the Federal Government of Rio would be very gloomy indeed.

Mexico's New Era of Peace

By CARLETON BEALS

Author of "Mexico: An Interpretation" and other books on contemporary social and political questions

WITH the election of General Calles as President of Mexico in succession to President Obregón, the country's problems remain the same, and will be attacked on much the same lines as in recent years, for Obregón and Calles have long worked together for the advancement of the republic.

Mexico's progress with respect to politics is especially notable; there is more tolerance now of opposing opinion, more breadth of view throughout the republic than perhaps ever before. Some months ago in Mexico City I attended a special convention of the Mexican National Agrarian Party, held in the Salón de Actos of the National Preparatory School—that massive red Baroque structure erected by the Jesuits early in the eighteenth century. The convention, a colorful assembly, was attended by delegates representing nearly every State in Mexico: from the puebla Huachinango, in sandals and immaculate white "pajamas," to the polished orator of the capital, faultlessly attired in frock coat and pin-stripe trousers.

Such a gathering would have been inconceivable under the Porfirio Díaz régime. Not only was the social consciousness then lacking for such assemblage, but if men had gathered peaceably to discuss the problems of the nation or to propose any modification of a system in which 95 per cent. of the inhabitants were propertyless and oppressed and without political rights, those men would have been arrested or assassinated, ridden down by the armed Rurales or spirited away to the slave camps of Yucatán and Quintana Roo.

Mexico, however, is not and never has been a political democracy. Nor is it a democracy in the Italian piazza-demonstration sense. In Mexico popular demands, in order to find satisfaction, have had to follow the most devious routes; political methods are not only

medieval and tortuous but are complicated by malpractices handed down from Indian superstition and sacerdotalism, from the Spanish Viceregal period, and from the independence struggle. I do not mean to imply that Mexico should necessarily become a political democracy in the American ballot-casting sense of the words; on the other hand, however, the lack, until recently, of the most rudimentary forms of popular social organization, the presence of uncongenial forces of industrialism, the heartless land-enclosures of the Díaz régime, coupled with the older more abiding injustices bequeathed by centuries singularly devoid of any emphasis upon national unity or enlightened advance have created a most vicious circle of disorder, public grafting and official persecution.

The centrifugal forces have always been paramount in Mexican life. If for no other than geographic reasons Mexico would find difficulty in achieving true unity. The mountains of the country, taking the shape of a vast "wishbone," break up into crisscross ranges, the chief of which, known as the Cordillera de Anáhuac, divides the inhabitants into scores of distinct ethnological and cultural groups, reviving many of the conditions that fostered the city-State régime in ancient Greece and creating an abiding love for the *patria chica* (literally "small fatherland"), which has vigorously persisted down to this day.

The Spanish Conquest temporarily unified the country by force and cunning. It substituted foreign rulers more worldly-wise, more unscrupulous, more unrestrained by considerations of consanguinity than the earlier native rulers. The Colonial régime, however, provided no enduring tie; it only aggravated and complicated existing evils. With the exception of the language, im-

proved transportation and, temporarily, the Church, it proved disruptive rather than unifying. Sharper race cleavages deepened the already existing separatism. A confusing foreign culture, with alien concepts of political control and alien theological beliefs, was imposed; at the same time, the basic institution, the family, was disrupted. In the various Indian systems marriage had apparently been founded upon mutual aid and division of labor. The social changes incident to the Spanish invasion rendered a wife not only feudally subservient but racially subservient—a new form of connubial slavery more remote rationally and historically from our times than even the Spanish practice of marriage. The Church-military-vice-roy system that resulted was a rigid race-caste autocracy.

With independence, the Indian and the mestizo (half-breed) became theoretically the equal of the Creole, as the native-born Spaniard was called; actually both Indian and mestizo found themselves in a worse plight, for freedom and equality served to substitute a theoretical status for effective legal patronage. Both these racial groups lost Crown protection, and, never having had any nation-wide social or racial homogeneity, became the prey of the unscrupulous Creole. South American independence, for all of its mouthing of the doctrines of liberty propagated by Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Encyclopedists, was a counter-revolution against the aggressive disruption of the old feudal order by Napoleon. The wars waged by the nations of Latin America against the mother country were fought in reality to preserve intact in the New World the antedated Spanish-Roman system of social and political control and to give the Creole class a free hand.

Thus Mexican political practices soon degenerated into a hectic struggle between Bishop, Marquis and General, between the ins and outs, one group of carpet-baggers stabbing another group, with the military elements ever assuming larger and larger importance, until the army became a sort of capricious Praetorian Guard, making or breaking the State.

TWO CONSTRUCTIVE REBELLIONS.

Only twice in the history of the Mexican Republic have these sordid upheavals been really popular national outbursts, productive of any worthwhile advantage for the masses: I refer to the revolutions of Juárez and of Madero-Obregón. The first brought the Reformation to Mexico; the second, for all its vicious attendant misfortunes, has become a "democratic social liberation." Yet, properly speaking, all through the history of Mexican independence may be discerned three augmenting currents: (1) Reappearance of Indianism as a social and political force—the restressing of the patria chica—resulting in frequent political and social disruptions; (2) reconciliation of Indianism with Spanish culture; (3) federation, or the achievement of national unity. For the most part, however, these currents have had ill-defined channels, and, lacking intelligent guidance, have been spending themselves fruitlessly.

Ordinarily shifts in the social order revolve around five well-defined modern institutions, viz., Government, the Church, the school, the family and the factory. In Mexico government has been, for the most part, devoid of popular or democratic significance. Progress has been made in spite of the Government; this, in the broader sense, is as true of the Díaz régime as any other. The Church, except during the earlier evangelic half of the Colonial period, has always allied itself with misgovernment and has deliberately opposed all forward-looking movements. The school was early discouraged during the Colonial period; such educational institutions as flourished then and since have been largely in the hands of the priests, the result being a theological classical curriculum ill adapted to native needs. The family was disrupted by the Conquest, its philosophic basis and sanctity destroyed and a new hybrid form created that has mirrored the general vices of the inefficient autocracies to which it has contributed. The factory, or industry, in the modern sense, did not exist until toward the close of the Díaz régime, since which time it has

profoundly modified the national life; but it has injected into the existing confusion, far-reaching land and labor problems and has proved, for all of its benefits, a disturbing, uncongenial impulse.

As opposed to these non-popular, imported and (with the exception of industry) semi-feudal institutions, there persisted until down toward the close of Díaz's time the ejido, or village communal system. Though this system was heavily levied upon by taxation and the exploitation of unscrupulous officials, it was encouraged and protected by the Church and the Viceroy; more than anything else, it served to preserve something of the social and moral fabric, and, above all, perpetuated those group handicrafts which seem as much a part of Mexico as the stones and trees of the fields and which still shed a glow of color and beauty over the life of the most despicable and tattered beggar. The Díaz rule, with its ruthless "enclosures," largely destroyed this one great popular institution. The resultant dislocation of the Mexican people has been tragically brusque, and historical continuity was perhaps more profoundly shattered at this period than even by the Spanish Conquest.

A WAVE OF INDUSTRIALISM

This disruption of the village commune was accompanied by an overwash from the United States of our post-Civil War industrialism into Mexico. The result was further dislocation, acceleration of urbanization, and a reduction of stamina among large economic and race groups.

The political reflex of the rapid extension among modern peoples of technical knowledge, as a result of the rise of the factory system, has invariably been political democracy. The Madero revolution sought to give to the Mexican masses, who up to that time had been quite untrained in free political activities, all the rights of an electoral democracy. The results were immediately disastrous, owing to the too abrupt intrusion of an alien cultural idea. Such democracy, growing up alongside industrialization as in the United States,

proved utterly unrealistic when applied to a frontier country so racially and economically confused as is Mexico. The consequence was that the country was precipitated into an orgy of bloodshed from which, with the advent of Obregon's constructive régime, it is only now slowly emerging.

The second phase of the Madero-Obregon revolution has been social. This reorientation has been due to the intrinsic national needs and has been influenced by the general world trend. Social reform in Mexico has always been peering over the shoulder of the revolution. Concealed in that shadow-like but ravenous phrase, "Tierra y Libertad" (land and liberty), social reform has dogged the heels of every military upstart and so-called bandit; not until the time of Carranza did the impelling power of the social ideas latent in the 1910-20 revolution begin to crystallize into firm, practical grouping. The signs of the times were evidenced by the writing of the Querétaro Constitution of 1917, the organization of the pro-Carranza batallones rojos (Red battalions) among the workers of Orizaba, Puebla, Vera Cruz and Tampico; the founding of the Casa del Obrero Mundial (House of World Labor); the social experimentation of Salvador Alvarado in Yucatan and of Plutarco Elias Calles in Sonora; the calling of the first national feminist congress in Mérida in 1915; the agrarian plan of Ayala launched by the Zapatistas; the establishment of the Convencionista Peasant Government in Morelos in 1915-16, and the rise of the C. R. O. M. or Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (Regional Confederation of Labor). Carranza, however, scoured most of the popular forces that put him into power; not until after the imposition of the Obregon régime was the right of popular organization definitely stimulated and protected.

OBREGON FAVORS POPULAR AUTONOMY

The Government of Obregón has openly encouraged all forms of popular autonomy, including racial independence. It has been the first to put the brakes on runaway foreign industrial-

ism and the first since Juárez's ill-starred attempts to make any serious effort toward solving the agrarian problem and satisfying the peon's land-hunger. The Obregón Government, therefore, marks the first real social-economic reorientation of the revolution that began in 1911 with the Madero slogan of "Effective Suffrage, No Re-election." It is the first adequate crystallizing out of the three great tendencies of Mexican history into concrete reality. Indianism has definitely become a powerful political and social force; Indian regionalism, especially in Yucatán and the adjoining Maya districts, in Morelos and in parts of Sonora has definitely established itself. With the extension of political and economic rights to the submerged racial and social groups, Spanish culture, as such, is no longer an irksome yoke or an uncongenial irritant. Intelligence is destroying mistrust; an eclectic spirit now demands the best from both cultures. At the same time the revolution has brought about a new spirit of national pride, seemingly antipathetic to Indian regionalism and autonomy, yet wiser than most nationalistic movements in that it has utilized the very diversity of the country to extract, rather than impose, a common denominator. And the sentiment is rapidly growing up in Mexico in favor of a stabilized régime. Mexico has suddenly discovered that she is the frontier guardian and the spiritual leader of all Latin-American civilization; and, as such, she is steadily acquiring dignity. The fruits of these tendencies, however, have yet to be harvested. The re-emergence of Indianism as a determining social and political force, the reconciliation of Indian and Spanish cultures and the achievement of national unity based upon the principle of the federation of semi-autonomous regions are three forces which, if permitted to develop in an evolutionary fashion, will not only contribute to stability but are likely within the next half century to give birth to a great cultural renaissance.

General Plutarco Calles, the new President, represents today the main current of the social phase of the revo-

lution. Though he has pro-labor sympathies, he has repeatedly shown his appreciation of the racial, agrarian and cultural values of his country. He alone has pledged himself to continue Obregón's policies, to intensify and coordinate the land-distribution program, respect popular organization and guard the national integrity.

Adolfo de la Huerta, the third member of the Sonora triumvirate which has ruled Mexico during the past three and a half years, gradually became estranged from Obregón's courageous and constructive policies, this antagonism reaching its climax in the rebellion of last Winter. An understanding of the significance of the de la Huerta revolt in the history of Mexico is vital to an adequate appraisal of the possibilities for an era of enduring peace to the south of us.

The de la Huerta revolt was, above all else, a recrudescence of century-old vices, the spawn of rampant militarism. Except during the Juárez and Madero revolutions, the military class has been the determining factor in Mexican political life, the fundamental instrument of social control. It has been the one powerful organized force. The army in Mexico almost merits the title of Institution. And yet, Mexico has rarely had a national army; it has had, however, any number of feudal armies. Military organization has been based on shifting personal allegiance rather than on ideals or patriotism. The Government and the people have always been the victims, never the beneficiaries. The militarists have their eye always on the main chance; they watch for any and every opportunity for betrayal. "The army always wins," is the Mexican adage. That this expectation was not realized in the case of the de la Huerta revolt—perhaps the first important exception in the history of Mexican army-betrayals—has been due to the unique character of the Obregón Administration.

Obregón's victory was doubly significant because of the fact that the rebel Generals, Estrada and Sánchez, were not only the two most powerful Generals of the army but the two Generals most

imbued with the military spirit and most individualistic. They early came into conflict with Obregón's social policies. The very fact that they were traditional militarists caused them to gravitate into the circle of the traditional feud and class interests which had so long dominated the country. Estrada and Sánchez, among all the army Generals, most openly furthered the interests of the reactionary landed proprietors. These two were bitterly opposed to the Government's agrarian program. In their respective zones they vigorously attempted to prevent the constitutional return of the village communities and illegally obstructed the work of the National Agrarian Commission. Both of these leaders had been guilty of atrocities against the peasants before the revolution broke.

Such, then, was the character of the support behind the rebellious militarists. The revolt found its strongest centres not in the indigenous race areas, as in Carranza's time, but in Jalisco, the reactionary stronghold of the landed proprietors and the Church, and in Vera Cruz the stronghold of the violently Red labor syndicates. The rebellious forces controlled few of the middle-of-the-road States.

In Vera Cruz the rebellion counted on the support of the Fascist movement, which found its greatest backing in that State. Since the National Association of Agriculturists, composed of landowners, was at that time headed by the same officers as the Fascist movement, the two organizations, for all practical purposes, may be considered identical.

CHURCH SUPPORT FOR REBELS

In most quarters the Church also backed the de la Huertistas. Governor Salcedo of Zacatecas apologetically told me that he had been obliged to shoot two priests with rifles in their hands. Señor Juan Veraza, a prominent citizen of the "Pearl of the Occident" (as Guadalajara is called) and one of the organizers of the great fair held some months ago in that city, gave to the press a statement that the Archbishop of Jalisco, Orozco y Jiménez, had contributed 1,000,000 pesos to Estrada's

cause, though the prelate later caused circulars to be distributed in which he denied having aided the revolution and attempted to exonerate himself in a long open letter to President Obregón, a mammoth Catholic manifestation of rejoicing over the "assured success" of the revolution was held in Guadalajara on Dec. 12, 1923.

Besides the militarists, the landed proprietors and in certain sections the Church, a fourth element secretly sympathized with the revolt. The middle-class bureaucracy of the capital constantly connived against the Government, from which it obtained, and still obtains, its bread. However, the members of this luxury-loving group were scarcely of the stuff to provide "cannon fodder" for a revolution. Their unchanging motto has been public graft, contracts, Government sinecures. De la Huerta, famous for his Lamont agreement, famous also for the lavishness with which he invariably bought off the enemies of the Government instead of castigating them, came to be identified in the popular mind with ready cash; so that it is not surprising that he captured the imaginations of this bureaucratic middle class, which has no vision beyond easy jobs and graft.

Without dipping into the international or petroleum complications of the recent disturbance, it may be said that militarism, Fascism, absenteeism, large-landholdism, ecclesiasticism and middle-class bureaucratism call the roll of the defeated rebel forces.

NEW SPIRIT OF LOYALTY.

Opposed to the tendencies represented in the de la Huerta movement have been, in general, the more enlightened elements of the nation. Certain popular forces were set in motion by the progressive principles that have inspired the Obregón Government. First of all, there has grown up, even among the military, a group imbued with greater loyalty to the nation. Though this loyalty has been to some extent traditionally individual, in that it swears allegiance to Obregón as a "hero," nevertheless it finds most of its

nourishment in the very fact that he embodies a national rather than a factional ideal. Obregón has built up and cemented this devotion, and precisely for this reason the legal regional forces did not crumble as occurred under Madero, Huerta and Carranza.

Second, in certain localities there are groups of landed proprietors who have come to realize that the future of their class in Mexico depends upon the harmony with which they cooperate with the Government in intelligently solving the agrarian problem. If this group did not support Obregón in the de la Huerta revolt, it was at least neutral.

Third, throughout the Mexican nation the conviction is growing among all groups and classes that there is need for more deliberate, organized respect for the principles of orderly government—a higher evaluation of loyalty in times of crisis. That such loyalty, in turn, depends upon stabilized government, animated by justice, goes without saying; and the respect manifested by the Obregón Government for fair play and legality has strengthened this spirit of allegiance among the people. Obregón's elbow-room policy, his open-window attitude toward popular democratic activity, has effectively solidified this sentiment.

Fourth, the Government had the support of the chief labor and peasant groups. The most important workers' organizations are the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican Labor Party, of which Plutarco Elias Calles was the candidate for President. Calles organized a nucleus of about 10,000 men in San Luis Potosí; he trained the labor and peasant volunteers, which were then dispatched to the various fronts, and later conducted the campaign against the Villistas. All the officers of the Executive Committee of these two labor organizations recruited and drilled in various parts of the republic. Practically all the local unions contributed volunteers. The National Agrarian Party, led by Soto y Gama, proved equally active. Scores of labor and peasant leaders penetrated behind

the rebel lines and organized the peasants and workers into guerrilla bands.

Fifth, the fact that Obregón has respected Indian autonomy brought him what no other Government since that of Juárez has enjoyed—the support of the Yaquis, the Nahuas of the old Zapata districts, the Mayas and other racial units. The Serranos of Oaxaca, without Government aid, attacked the capital of the State and harassed the rebel retreat south from Vera Cruz and Tepehuanes.

After ten years of upheaval verging at times on anarchy, the successful maintenance of three years of peace by President Obregón is tangible evidence that he has harmonized in an evolutionary manner the conflicting aims of the various post-Díaz revolutions. This peace was achieved through a stern but intelligent handling of the military problem, through the stimulation of orderly popular organization, respect for native and racial autonomal ideals, and a serious attempt to solve the agrarian problem. Respect for these principles brought to Obregón the support of the "patriotic" militarists, of the more enlightened landed proprietors, of the forces standing for orderly government and effective social control, of the organized labor and peasant groups and of the various Indian "nations," such as the Yaquis, Nahuas, and so forth. Thus in four years the Government has built up a real national and social solidity. For practically the first time in the history of Mexico a truly popular Government has become sufficiently entrenched to withstand a serious insurrection of the traditional internal enemies of liberty. For the first time in Mexican history a Government has arisen sufficiently vigorous and alert to protect the popular gains and preserve the popular aspirations. General Plutarco Elias Calles, backed by all the machinery of the Government, enjoying the confidence of these same elements, pledged himself during his campaign for the Presidency that, if elected, he would respect the principles that have nourished the Obregón régime.

A Month's World History

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EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

PUBLIC attention to the middle of July was absorbed in the preliminaries and proceedings of the Democratic National Convention in New York, a detailed account of which will be found elsewhere in this magazine. The interest usually given to proceedings in Congress and the action of the other departments of the National Government was transferred to this long and dramatic struggle. Never has a convention been so completely reported. The usual special staff of correspondents of great newspapers was supplemented by several professional humorists, whose views of politics and men were widely syndicated, and for the first time in our history the minute-to-minute proceedings of a vast convention were broadcast by radio over the country. Literally millions of Americans listened to the proceedings from hour to hour as closely as the thousands packed into the convention hall. A hurricane of letters and telegrams flew back from the constituents to the delegates.

The New York convention, though manned solely by Democrats, was a national event. Never did the country at large so realize the workings of the inner machinery of a great party. At the same time the convention brought to the surface several of the great national issues, particularly the aims of and the opposition to the Ku Klux Klan; the execution of the national Prohibition act; religious liberty as applied to the support of candidates for high national office; the attitude of the two major parties on the oil scandals, and the effect of connection with those scandals upon the fortunes of public men. The people of the United States for more than two weeks went, in fact, to a national school of politics.

The President—While the centre of public interest was in New York, the President in Washington quietly carried on his regular duties. The President announced (June 9) that he expected to find some way of providing for the bonus expenditures. He was deeply interested in the Cleveland convention, and is understood to have made some suggestions for a candidate for the Vice Presidency which were not heeded by the convention. He found himself, however, heartily in accord with Charles G. Dawes, the eventual nominee. The platform of the convention was known to have his approval throughout. His intimate friend and political manager, William Butler of Massachusetts, was formally elected Chairman of the Republican National Committee

(June 13). A difference of opinion developed between C. Bascom Slep, private Secretary to the President, and Mr. Butler. It was announced (June 16) that an Advisory Committee had been formed to take an active part in directing the campaign. Next day it was made clear by direction of the President that the committee was not intended to supersede Mr. Butler. Senator Lodge, who had not been admitted to an active part in the Cleveland convention, was invited to the White House for a consultation. It was again announced (June 21) that Mr. Slep had not resigned and would be active in the Advisory Committee, which, in his own words, "would have charge of the real management of the campaign."

The only notable step in foreign relations was an instruction (June 25) to Ambassador Kellogg to attend the London conference of allied Premiers on the Dawes plan of German reparations.

The President sent a letter (July 4) to the public forum of Brooklyn Heights who were marking the site of the Revolutionary battle of Long Island, in which he said: "You are doing a real public service in preserving the great landmarks of American history." The same day he made an elaborate address before the National Education Association at Washington, urging the teaching of American ideals, and of sound economics in the schools, to head off unsound social and economic views. He strongly supported the proposed new Federal Department of Education and Relief, and the pending child labor constitutional amendment.

On July 4 it was found that Calvin Coolidge Jr., 16-year-old son of the President, was seriously ill. He died on July 7 from blood poisoning and was buried at Plymouth, Vt, on July 10. The Democratic National Convention exercised a high courtesy by a formal vote expressing its sympathy with the President, to which he made a suitable response.

Federal Service—Few changes or events are to be noted in the Federal service. General Sawyer, appointed by President Harding as White House physician, resigned from that position, remaining, however, a member of the Federal Board of Hospitalization. Jerome Michael of New York was appointed special assistant to the Attorney General in the Quartermaster war frauds. Attorney General Stone demanded the resignation of District Attorney Williams of San Francisco. He appointed twelve of the twenty-

eight members of the new Tax Appeal Board (July 2)

The proposed Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution on the labor of persons under 18 years of age was rejected by the lower house of the Georgia Legislature by a vote of 170 to 3.

One of the investigations instituted in the last session of Congress is still proceeding. In the court cases indictments were found (June 30), by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia against ex-Secretary Fall, Harry F. Sinclair, Edward L. Doheny, and Edward L. Doheny Jr. for bribery and conspiracy, including the payment of \$100,444 by the Dohenys to Fall. Their counsel interposed the usual technical objections. In the investigation of whisky frauds Secretary Mellon appeared as a witness and denied that he had had any knowledge of or responsibility for forged liquor withdrawal permits.

States and Territories—Within State boundaries the most exciting episode of the month was another development in the contest between the Democratic Lieutenant Governor Toupin of Rhode Island and the Senate over which he presides, and which has a strong Republican majority. The presiding officer has for months refused to recognize any Republican for fear that he will move the passage of appropriation bills, and then an adjournment sine die. The effort of the minority is to keep in the minds of Rhode Islanders the system of districting by which a minority based on the small towns can always outvote a majority from the large cities. They demand a constitutional convention. On June 19 a gas bomb was exploded in the Senate Chamber with distressing effects on the lungs of the Republicans. Next day twenty-one of the twenty-two Republicans were threatened with arrest and betook themselves to Rutland, Mass., about fifty miles off, leaving the Senate without a quorum. Governor Flynn, supporting the Lieutenant Governor, expressed very unfavorable opinions of the "outlaws" who had left their State.

On June 22, Mrs. Soledad Chacon, Secretary of State of New Mexico, there being no Lieutenant Governor, became Acting Governor when Governor Hinkle left the State to attend the Democratic Convention. This is the first time a woman has acted as Governor of a State.

The Supreme Court of the United States held (June 9), that the impeachment proceedings against ex-Governor Walton of Oklahoma was not reviewable by the Federal courts.

Definite orders were sent (June 25) for the withdrawal of about two thousand American marines from the Republic of Santo Domingo. This is in line with the withdrawal from Haiti, which was demanded (July 4) by the National Republican Convention.

A formal ruling was made by Attorney General Stone that no appropriation should be made by

the Insular Government of the Philippines to support a campaign for the independence of those islands. Since the Republican platform declares that the time for independence has not arrived, and the Democratic platform favors immediate independence, the question is likely to be debated in the coming campaign.

Papers revealing an extensive "strike" plot among the 7,000 natives serving with the United States forces in the Philippines were found on July 5 in raids on the quarters of these soldiers at Fort McKinley; the raids followed the refusal of some soldiers to do duty. The seized data, according to officials, disclosed that the Philippine Scouts, as the native regiments are known, had planned to march on Aug. 5 to Manila, where a demand for equal pay with the white American troops was to have been presented to Governor General Wood. General Wood ordered an investigation and 206 men of the Fifty-seventh Infantry and Twelfth Medical Regiment, Philippine Scouts, were arrested. It was announced on July 12 that practically all these prisoners would be court-martialed.

Finance—National finance took a new turn because of the evidence that at the end of the financial year (June 30), Federal accounts showed a surplus of more than \$500,000,000 for the preceding twelve months. The President was confronted with difficulties because Congress adjourned June 7 without passing a deficiency bill of \$182,000,000, which, among other things, provided funds for organizing the administration and making payments under the new bonus law. This requires a new force of several thousand clerks. Efforts were made to find somewhere among the appropriations the necessary funds. The revised estimates for income and outgo for the fiscal year 1924-25 indicated that the \$130,000,000 necessary for the bonus could be paid without laying new taxes.

The President, however, is anxious also to cover a reclassification of the salaries of 190,000 Government employees, to whom new salaries were voted, though special appropriation for the purpose failed. The President directed (June 14) that the salaries be paid, but also announced (June 30), to the responsible officials that Federal expenditures for the fiscal year 1924-25 must be reduced by at least \$83,000,000 below the amounts at present contemplated.

The total Federal debt outstanding on June 20 was announced as \$21,339,979,477, a reduction of \$1,099,727,888.08 during the twelve months. Foreign powers were accredited with about \$111,000,000 payment on their liabilities to the United States. The total of income and profits taxes (not counting the last twelve days of June) was nearly \$1,700,000,000—an increase of \$200,000,000 over the previous year; 67 incomes of \$1,000,000 or upward were reported to the income tax

authorities in 1923; 5,031 reported about \$100,000 each a year. The total taxpayers were 6,787,401; the total income was \$21,336,212,530, and the total collected tax was \$861,157,308.

Business and Business Organization—A falling off was noticed in some lines of trade in the last few weeks. Bank failures in the West continued, particularly in Wyoming and other farming States.

Besides the prosecutions against oil concerns for acts connected with the naval reserve oil fields, an effort was made by Attorney General Stone to bring suit against about fifty oil companies on the ground of illegal restraints in the sale of gasoline, kerosene and other hydro-carbon products. This was connected with efforts to maintain a monopoly through the ownership of patents on the "cracking" process of producing gasoline. It is charged that many of the patents are not valid.

The question of the sale of gasoline by the Government of the State of South Dakota was thrown by Governor McMaster into the courts.

A proposition was made public (June 20) for a combination between five immense grain-handling corporations and the American Farm Bureau Federation under which about 5,000 elevators would be brought within one control. It was hoped that this would be a step toward wider cooperation of farm industry.

Transportation and Communications—Some general questions with regard to the railroad situation were brought out by planks in the platforms, especially of the minor parties, looking toward nationalization. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party, however, declared for such action, while railroad managers are mostly against it. No such transfer could be made without issuing Federal bonds to take up the present outstanding stocks and bonds, and that would raise a serious issue on the value of the property.

The Postal Service was much disturbed by continued robberies on a large scale, culminating in the robbery of a mail train on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Road near Chicago (June 12) by eight bandits, one of whom was killed by another, apparently for disobeying his orders. Four were captured within a few hours. Steps were taken by the department to weed out doubtful men from among the employees.

The oil controversies called public attention to the fact that a network of pipe lines stretches from the coasts of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland west as far as Wyoming, and from the Middle West south to the Gulf ports, with a small network in California. The pipe lines are legally common carriers, so that the owners are obliged to pump oil that does not belong to them. The mileage is now estimated at 5,500, carrying about 400,000,000 barrels of crude petroleum a year.

The most exciting events in the field of transportation were rapid extensions of air flights. In recent test flights (June 23) Lieutenants Price and Weed of the Naval Air Service, kept a seaplane in the air for a sustained flight of 13 hours and 23 minutes, covering a distance of 963 miles. A new era is entered in air transportation by the flight of Lieutenant Maughan (June 23), completing a distance of 2,850 miles in 21 hours, 48½ minutes, with five refueling stops. The three airplanes of the army round-the-world flight reached Paris on July 14 after passing through China and India.

So far has the mastery of the air gone that a new air mail schedule went into effect July 1 for the delivery of letters within twenty-four hours between New York and San Francisco.

Foreign Relations—Pending negotiations and difficulties with foreign nations are treated elsewhere in this monthly survey.

Our diplomatic Consular personnel is undergoing a new development as a result of the Rogers bill for the improvement of the foreign service of the United States. An executive committee of the Foreign Service Personnel Board has been created (June 21) under the chairmanship of Charles C. Eberhardt.

A new Assistant Secretaryship of State has been filled by the appointment of Wilbur Carr, formerly director of the Consular Service. A readjustment of the Foreign Service was announced (July 2) under the general conditions of the Rogers act. Thirty-two persons were retired, as being over 65 years of age; eighteen were dropped for inefficiency or other causes; about twenty others were withdrawn or reduced in rank. The whole of the rest of the service was reclassified into nine groups, each subdivided into diplomatic and Consular officials.

A general claims commission has been set up (July 2) under a convention with Mexico, headed by ex-Governor Miller of New York. The commission is expected to settle the claims connected with Pershing's expedition into Mexico in 1916, the Vera Cruz expedition, and also 350 alleged cases of the killing of American citizens in the States of the American Union bordering on Mexico from 1915 to 1922. A question of the diversion of water from the Rio Grande river will also come up.

In the Near East it was announced (June 11) that the Ottoman-American Development Company was negotiating for the "management and equipment rights" of the Bagdad railroad, the building of which by the Germans was one of the disturbing factors before the World War.

The attitude of the United States Government on the question of Japanese exclusion was stated in detail by Secretary of State Hughes (June 16) in a courteous dispatch asserting the international right of the United States to exclude the citizens of any other country.

Law and Order—An interesting criminal trial was that of Gaston B. Means and Elmer W. Jarnecke, his assistant, before the United States Court in New York, for receiving \$20,000 on their promise to secure the illegal withdrawal of certain whisky. Means was an active witness before the committee of the Senate investigating H. M. Daugherty's methods while Attorney General of the United States. Means pleaded that he was acting under the direction of the Department of Justice. He was nevertheless sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York (July 1) affirmed the conviction of William H. Anderson for fraudulent alterations of the records of the Anti-Saloon League.

An attempt to show that the treaty with Great Britain on the 12-mile limit was a violation of the Eighteenth Amendment and of the Volstead Act and therefore null and void was made in a case involving the steamship *Berengaria*. Judge Knox of the United States District Court declined so to rule, and the issue goes up to the Supreme Court.

The causes of and remedies for the present era of violent crime were discussed at length at the meeting of the American Bar Association (July 7 and 8). Caspar H. Yost declared that under the present methods "a preposterous system of criminal jurisdiction gives crime every advantage over justice." Attorney General Stone warmly attacked the present system of political influence brought to bear upon courts and particularly upon public prosecutors. Secretary of State Hughes, later elected President of the Association (July 10), demanded "immediate prosecution, conviction and punishment, where competent evidence exists, with a swiftness and adequacy which sacrifice none of the essentials of justice."

Social Life—The population of the United States as of Jan. 1, 1924, was announced (June 15) by the National Bureau of Economic Research as 112,826,000 (not including the Philippine Islands). The gain in absolute numbers from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1923, was larger than in any period in our history. Congressman Johnson, draftsman of the new immigration bill, calculated that with small immigration the population of the United States would rise in another 50 years to about 200,000,000. Other and perhaps safer estimates by experts of the Department of Agriculture, based on an estimate of 150,000,000 in 1950, pointed out that in such a case not less than 38,000,000 more acres of land would need to be brought under cultivation. It is difficult to see where such land exists.

Amid the announcements of gifts made at the commencements of the colleges and universities during June, the most remarkable was that by

Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts and President Lowell of Harvard that in the last twelve months, over \$13,000,000 had been paid or pledged for the uses of that institution.

Among the religious bodies the Presbyterians announced gifts of \$50,000,000 in a year. At the same time, at the general council of the Presbyterian Church in Atlantic City June 24, a falling off in membership to 1,800,000 was noted.

Bishop Emeritus William Montgomery Brown of the Protestant Episcopal Church was found guilty of heresy by a board of eight clergymen. Appeal can be brought to higher church authorities.

The Methodist Episcopal Church South (July 4), in general conference, voted to accept union with the Northern church, subject to ratification by local bodies.

Labor and Immigration—The country is settling down to the new immigration bill which went into force on July 1. Secretary of Labor Davis again publicly urged that all aliens be enrolled and pay a small fee for the support of the service, and that immediate steps be taken to check the present unrestricted and unrestrained immigration from Canada, and particularly from Mexico. President Coolidge formally proclaimed the new immigration law (June 30), including a statement of the quotas. The largest are: Germany, about 51,000; Great Britain and North Ireland, 24,000; Irish Free State, 29,000; Sweden, Norway and Denmark, 19,000. On the other hand among the small allowances are: France, 4,000; Russia, 2,000; Italy, 4,000.

An evidence of the internal strains among the labor unions was a recent suit brought (July 8) by the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers for \$10,000,000, as a counter-claim to a suit brought by the Iron League against them for \$5,000,000.

Military and Naval—Military authorities desire to make Sept. 12 a National Defense Day, on which every effort shall be made to mobilize the military and naval organizations of both the Federal Government and the States. Governor Baxter of Maine (June 27) made a solemn protest lest such a "national mobilization of the armed forces of this country * * * be regarded by other nations as a threat, or at least a warning." This protest against discovering how far our small military force could be mobilized was taken up by the Federation of Churches in Massachusetts and by other religious bodies, which prefer to cultivate "a will to peace."

Arrangements have been made to send the United States fleet to Australia and New Zealand under command of Admiral Coontz, leaving Hawaii in January, 1925.

(Continued on Page 842)

The Democratic National Convention

THE Democratic National Convention met at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on June 24, 1924, and did not conclude its labors until 2:30 A. M. July 10, 1924. Its twenty-nine sessions made it the most protracted National Convention in the history of the country. This was due to the long deadlock in the balloting for a candidate for President. In the end John W. Davis of West Virginia was nominated, with Governor Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska as candidate for Vice President. It required 103 ballots to nominate Mr. Davis; the largest number of ballots previously taken at a national convention was fifty-nine at the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1860, when there was a split in the party over the Civil War issues.

When the convention was called to order by Congressman Cordell Hull, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, there was no premonition of the turbulent sessions that were to take place and the acrimonious divisions that were to arise over the platform and the personality of the candidates. It was expected that there would be a number of ballots to reach a decision, but no one anticipated a deadlock such as occurred.

Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi was chosen Temporary Chairman, and on the afternoon of June 24 delivered the keynote speech, in which he strongly attacked the Republican Party, emphasizing especially the recent revelations in the oil scandal. He attacked the leadership of President Coolidge, the methods by which the Cleveland Convention was conducted, Republican tariff policy, the Mellon plan and the ship subsidy. He claimed credit for the Democrats for the Disarmament Conference; severely criticized the Republican Party for its attitude toward the League of Nations and the World Court, and dwelt with considerable detail on the distress of the farmers, which he ascribed to Republican legislation. The

address was received with wild enthusiasm.

The following day the permanent organization was effected by the election of United States Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana as Permanent Chairman and Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana as Permanent Secretary. In his speech of acceptance, Senator Walsh traversed practically the same ground as Senator Harrison, severely criticizing the Republican Administration and policies.

In order to expedite business, the convention decided that the nominating speeches should precede the report of the Committee on Platform, which was delayed because, it was rumored, there were serious differences among members of the committee on the subject of the League of Nations and on the question whether a specific denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan should be made by name. The first direct reference to the Ku Klux Klan came when Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama was proposed for President. The nominating speech was made by Fordney Johnson of Alabama, who concluded with the statement that he was seeking to have the Committee on Resolutions recommend a plank "reaffirming the party's position against the Know Nothing policy of proscribing from public office members of certain races and creeds as is now proposed by the Ku Klux Klan." This first mention of the name of the hooded organization was like an electric shock. Half the audience and many of the delegates rose in a demonstration of approval that was some indication of the coming strife.

CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT

Among the candidates placed in nomination for President, the more important were:

William Gibbs McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury.

Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York.

Former Governor James M. Cox of Ohio

(the party's candidate for President in 1920).

John W. Davis, former Ambassador to Great Britain.

United States Senator Oscar W. Underwood

of Alabama.

United States Senator Samuel L. Ralston of Indiana.

Governor Jonathan M. Davis of Kansas.

Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland.

United States Senator Carter Glass of Virginia.

Governor Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska.

United States Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas.

Governor Fred W. Brown of New Hampshire.

United States Senator Willard Saulsbury of Delaware.

Governor George S. Silzer of New Jersey.

David Franklin Houston of New York, former Secretary of the Treasury.

United States Senator Woodbridge N. Ferris of Michigan.

The Platform Committee began its deliberations on the evening of June 24 and found no difficulty in agreeing unanimously upon all the planks of the platform until they reached those relating to foreign relations, which involved the League of Nations issue, and the question of religious liberty. There was a sharp division as to whether the League of Nations should be unreservedly endorsed and the entrance of the United States into the League recommended, or whether the League should be endorsed in general terms and the entrance of this country made dependent upon a popular referendum. On the religious liberty plank the issue was whether or not the Ku Klux Klan should be named in the resolution. When the platform was reported on June 28 there were both a majority and a minority report. The minority, through former Secretary of War Newton D. Baker of Ohio, offered a plank containing a definite and unequivocal pledge of participation by this country in the League of Nations. Another minority report proposed to mention the Ku Klux Klan by name.

The presentation of the minority report recommending the participation of the United States in the League of Nations was offered by Mr. Baker in an impassioned and eloquent address, which was one of the features of the entire convention. He was followed by Alfred Lucking of Michigan, who favored the majority report, and he in turn by Senator A. A. Jones of New Mexico. Following Senator Jones, Rabbi Stephen H. Wise addressed the convention in favor of the minority plank and the debate was closed, after one hour on each side, by Senator Pittman of Nevada, who favored the majority re-

port. The proposal to substitute a definite League plank for the referendum plank was defeated by a vote of 353½ to 742½.

Immediately after the League of Nations question was disposed of the proposal to substitute the plank denouncing the Ku Klux Klan by name was presented and precipitated a very bitter debate, which lasted two hours. The speakers advocating that the Ku Klux Klan be named in the platform were William Pattangall of Maine, Edmond H. Moore of Ohio, Bainbridge Colby, former Secretary of State, Mrs. Carroll Miller of Pittsburgh, Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, C. W. Bryan of Nebraska, Francis X. Busch of Illinois. The debaters in favor of the majority report, omitting the name of the Klan, were Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, Governor Cameron Morrison of North Carolina, Gared Y. Sanders of Louisiana. The debate was closed by William Jennings Bryan, whose address precipitated one of the most sensational scenes ever witnessed in a national convention. He was interrupted by applause, hisses and booing from both floor and gallery and the entire convention was thrown into an indescribable uproar. The vote on the Klan was taken amid great confusion in the early hours of the morning. As announced at the time, the Klan proposal was rejected by one in a total of 1,083 6-20 votes. The announcement was made amid great excitement after a Georgia delegate had asked to change her vote, she having first voted to name the Klan. Later, when the figures had been officially revised, the vote as finally recorded showed a total of 541.85 for the singling out of the Klan by name, as against 546.15 for the majority report as it appeared in the platform. The bitterness of feeling that was aroused over the Klan debate changed the whole aspect of affairs, and the subsequent proceedings for several days reflected this condition, which virtually had divided the convention on religious lines.

The convention reassembled on Monday, June 30, and in the evening the first ballot for the candidate for Presi-

dent was taken. The votes cast for candidates were as follows: McAdoo, 431½; Smith, 241; Cox, 59; Harrison, 43½; Underwood, 42½; Silzer, 38; J. W. Davis, 31; Ferris, 30; Ralston, 30; Glass, 25; Ritchie, 22½; Robinson, 21; J. M. Davis, 20; C. M. Bryan, 18; Governor Brown, 17; Governor William E. Sweet, 12. Fifteen ballots were cast without result before the convention adjourned till the following day. The voting at this stage was: McAdoo, 479; Smith, 305; Davis, 61; Cox, 60.

On Tuesday, July 1, fifteen additional ballots were cast, amid scenes of excitement and disorder, the thirtieth being as follows: McAdoo, 415½; Smith, 323½; Davis, 126½; Underwood, 39½; Cox, 57.

On Wednesday, July 2, there was a strong drive made for McAdoo. Twelve ballots were cast, the forty-second ending with McAdoo, 503.4; Smith, 318.6; Davis, 67. During this session William Jennings Bryan, by unanimous consent, delivered an address appealing for unity in the party. He named several potentially successful candidates, but omitted John W. Davis and Governor Smith. He ended with an appeal for Mr. McAdoo. Mr. Bryan's speech was interrupted by hecklers and there was much disorder and excitement.

Nineteen more ballots were cast on July 3, the sixty-first ending the session with McAdoo, 469½; Smith, 355½; J. W. Davis, 60. Both McAdoo and Smith closed the day with the highest number of votes they each received up to this time. It was now evident that the convention was deadlocked. At the sixtieth ballot all records of balloting at National Conventions in the United States had been broken. When the convention adjourned on the night of July 3 feeling was running high. There appeared to be little prospect of reaching an early result.

On Friday, July 4, the delegates cast nine ballots, the seventieth showing a gain for McAdoo, the figures being McAdoo, 528½; Smith, 334½; J. W. Davis, 67. The highest vote reached by McAdoo was on the sixty-ninth ballot, when his total reached 530 votes, a few votes below a majority.

Six ballots were cast on July 5, closing with the seventy-seventh, which gave McAdoo 513 votes, Smith 367 and J. W. Davis 76½. Since no candidate had yet received the votes of a majority of the delegates, to say nothing of the necessary two-thirds, a resolution was adopted calling for a conference of representatives of the sixteen candidates placed in nomination, "for the purpose of reaching an understanding so as to hasten the conclusion of this convention." The conference was in session several hours and reported on Monday, July 7, to the convention a resolution signed by all the candidates except Mr. McAdoo, agreeing to release all their delegates from any pledges, instructions or obligations of any nature whatsoever to vote for them. Mr. McAdoo refused to sign this pledge and wrote a letter to the Chairman of the convention stating that, though he declined to sign the proposed agreement, he was willing to abrogate the unit rule, provided that after each ballot the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes should be dropped and the delegates present from each State should cast a pro rata vote of such delegates as might be absent. The report was rejected by an overwhelming vote.

The convention reassembled on Monday, July 7, in a state of great tenseness, it being understood that after a few ballots there would be a drive for Senator Ralston in the expectation that he would receive the nomination. But these hopes were in vain. Ten ballots were cast, the eighty-third showing a decline in the McAdoo vote and an increase for Smith to 368 and for Glass to 76. As the drive for Ralston became stronger the McAdoo vote began to decline, and on the eighty-seventh ballot, with which the session ended, McAdoo stood 333½, Smith had forged ahead to 361½ and Ralston to 93, with J. W. Davis remaining at 66½.

The session that began on July 8 continued until 2:30 o'clock the following morning. In the early evening Franklin D. Roosevelt, representing Governor Smith, made an announcement that for

the good of the party Governor Smith authorized him to say that he would withdraw if Mr. McAdoo would do likewise. This announcement created intense excitement, but the balloting continued, showing that Mr. McAdoo had declined to withdraw. The thirteen ballots cast at this session brought the total to 100. The Smith vote fluctuated from $364\frac{1}{2}$ to $351\frac{1}{2}$, at which figure his vote stood when the 100th ballot was taken. At 2:30 A. M., Wednesday, July 9, Mr. McAdoo presented a letter to the convention in which he stated that, though he felt if he should withdraw his name he would betray the trust confided in him by the people of many States, he was nevertheless unwilling to contribute to the continuation of a hopeless deadlock. For that reason, he added: "I have determined to leave my friends and supporters free to take such action as in their judgment may best serve the interests of the party." This indefinite statement left the convention in doubt as to whether or not Mr. McAdoo had withdrawn, but the effect of his letter was apparent on the following ballot, when his vote dropped to 190, and that for J. W. Davis rose from 68 on the ninety-third ballot to $203\frac{1}{2}$ on the 100th. An effort was made by some of the McAdoo leaders to institute a drive for former Secretary of Agriculture Meredith of Iowa. His name appeared on the eighty-eighth ballot, with 26 votes, and when the convention adjourned on the 100th ballot he had received $75\frac{1}{2}$. Senator Walsh, Chairman of the convention, also received a number of the McAdoo votes, his vote at the 100th ballot being $52\frac{1}{2}$.

The convention reassembled Wednesday, July 9, at 8:30 P. M. On the one hundred and first ballot McAdoo received 52 votes; Smith, 121; J. W. Davis, 316; Underwood, for whom a great many of the Smith delegates voted, $229\frac{1}{2}$; Senator Walsh, who inherited some of the McAdoo votes, 98; Meredith, 130. On the one hundred and second ballot Underwood's vote was 307, Walsh, 123; Smith, 44; McAdoo, 21; J. W. Davis, 415 2-3; Meredith, 67; Senator Robinson, 21.

The break came on the one hundred and third ballot. As the roll-call of delegates proceeded it was clear that Davis would receive the necessary two-thirds and a number of States changed their votes before the result was announced, the figures being finally as follows: J. W. Davis, 839; Underwood, $1021\frac{1}{2}$; Walsh, 59; Smith, $121\frac{1}{2}$; McAdoo, 12; Robinson, 20; Glass, 23; Meredith, 14; Cordell Hull, 1. James W. Gerard of New York received the South Dakota vote of 7. Upon the conclusion of the roll-call the nomination of Mr. Davis was made unanimous, though several delegates from Oregon and Arizona protested.

A motion to nominate Senator Walsh for Vice President by acclamation was then made, and in the temper of the convention would have been carried if the convention had not adjourned. On its reassembling a letter was read from Senator Walsh declining, and thereupon nominations were made, the principal candidates being:

Major George Berry of Tennessee.
Bennett Clark of Missouri.
Mrs. Leroy Springs of South Carolina.
Colonel Alvin Owsley.
Governor George S. Silzer of New Jersey.
Mayor John F. Hylan of New York.
General John C. Greenway of Warren, Ariz.
Governor Flynn of Rhode Island.
James W. Gerard of New York.

Mr. E. T. Meredith was nominated and withdrew, as did Governor Silzer. As soon as the candidates were placed in nomination a recess was taken at midnight for one hour to give the delegates an opportunity to confer, and it was then decided by the leaders, with the approval of Mr. Davis, that they would unite on Governor Bryan of Nebraska, who up to that time had not been nominated. On the re-assembling of the convention he was nominated and a ballot was taken, the result being as follows: Bryan, 739; Berry, $212\frac{1}{2}$; Owsley, 16; Silzer, 10; Mrs. Springs, 10; Governor Flynn, 10; Clark, 49. The Chairman announced Mr. Bryan's nomination amid shouts of protest from many delegates, and at 2:25 A. M., Thursday, July 10, the convention adjourned sine die.

John W. Davis: A Character Sketch

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON
Newspaper editor and magazine writer

JOHN W. DAVIS, the Democratic nominee for President is something new in American politics. It is no exaggeration to say that the public generally has never known quite how to figure him, and it is possible that election day will come before they have found out. The peculiar thing about it is that there is nothing mysterious in the least about him.

He has the extraordinary combination of being a most excellent mixer without being able to get that fact across, as they say on the stage, to people who have never seen him. Men who had never seen Roosevelt, Borah or Hiram Johnson got the impression that they were good mixers from what these men had read or heard, or from a sixth sense. Mr. Davis lacks that power, and yet everybody who meets him personally falls instantly under his spell.

He is not in the least aristocratic and has none of what the slang of the day calls "side." He is affable, jolly, democratic, a good loser and a good winner, and has the rare gift of not thinking about himself when he is talking to anybody. He is always the same, and would not know how to assume a pose. In addition he has a real sense of humor, which does not mean, as many people think it does, a desire to joke and tell funny stories. The ridiculous side of many features in public life strike him instantly, and his reaction is a twinkle in the eye rather than a guffaw. At the same time he can draw a mercilessly satirical picture and force it home to any audience without resorting to Mutt and Jeff tactics.

Now one would say that such a man would make an instantaneous hit with most of the 110,000,000 individuals who are supposed to be typically American. It is a fact that Davis impresses him-

self tremendously on all those who come in contact with him. Yet four years ago, when his name first began to be prominently mentioned for the Presidency, Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska, one of his admirers and a man who knew him well, said that, though Davis could conquer all who knew him, he would not make a good candidate because he had to be known to be appreciated. And this was a clever bit of insight on the part of the then Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

The power of Davis's intellect is just as impressive as his joviality and good fellowship. He is perhaps the only man living who has a certificate of ability from the United States Supreme Court. After he had been Solicitor of the Department of State for some time the members of the Supreme Court let it be known that they considered him the ablest lawyer that had practiced before them. When he wanted to be a Judge the Judiciary Committee of the House urged President Wilson to put him on the bench, giving him as enthusiastic a eulogy as ever party opponents gave any man—for the Judiciary Committee was then in the hands of the Republicans. Mr. Wilson did not know Davis and disregarded this remarkable manifestation, but later on he came to know him, fell under his influence, as all men do, and gave him the next best job, which was that of Solicitor. Mr. Davis's administration of that important office was such as to change Mr. Wilson's esteem into admiration and finally into dependence.

Although there was no relation whatever between the Solicitorship and the management of American affairs in Europe during the war, the President took him away from the State Department and invested him with great

powers on the Continent. As soon as the opportunity offered, Mr. Wilson made him Ambassador to Great Britain, where he made his usual impressive effect upon all the British officials with whom he came in contact. In fact, the British have a better idea of him than a majority of Americans have, and to this day count him as one of the half dozen greatest diplomats the United States has ever sent to London.

He is a money-getter, but not a money-keeper. In England he spent all his savings in keeping up the dignity of this country and came back to the United States not only "broke" but about \$25,000 on the debit side. It is permissible to guess that that is why he moved away from West Virginia and joined a law firm in New York. He probably had no doubt of his ability to get back all he had lost, for he is the kind of a man to whom clients swarm.

He is a man of effortless courage. In all his life he never hesitated to give utterance to his own opinion whether it was popular or not, and he never gave the impression that it cost him anything. No matter what position he held, he always stood on his own feet and no human being ever suspected for a moment that the opinions he uttered came from anywhere except the unfettered soul of John W. Davis.

So early did he make his mark on the minds of his neighbors that he was the leader of the West Virginia Legislature at the age of 26, a record not much behind that of Theodore Roosevelt. Even at that early age Republicans as well as Democrats surrendered to his spell, and whether they vote for him or not, West Virginians are for him. In Clarksburg his acquaintances call him Jack, and yet look up to him and respect him as they do no other man. It is a peculiar type of man who can be called Jack without loss of dignity. Even Colonel Roosevelt never permitted himself to be called Teddy, despite a widespread impression to the contrary, nor was President Taft ever called Bill except by people who had never met him.

It would be idle to say that Mr. Davis is without ambition, but his ambition runs in a different groove from that of most public men. It is more like that of Colonel House than of any other statesman in my memory. House was very ambitious, but not for office. He could have had any position short of the Presidency, but always refused. He would not even be Governor of Texas, much less Secretary of State. His ambition was to serve the public and be a figure in national and international affairs, but for office or money he cared nothing. His case is not precisely on all fours with that of Mr. Davis, for I think House enjoyed the sense of power more than Davis does.

Davis's ambition during most of his life has been toward the bench, and it was a sore disappointment to him when not even the hearty endorsement given him by his Republican colleagues in Congress could gratify it. Certainly he never expected that his path in life would lead him so far afield as it did during the war. His commanding abilities were responsible for that. Outside of that one Judgeship he never sought an office, and everything he has ever had was thrust upon him by his admirers, a statement which applies even to his Presidency of the American Bar Association.

The elder Bryan called him a reactionary, but afterward saw cause to retract that epithet. No thoughtful man would dream of using the word about him. He is only a reactionary in the sense that every man not a radical is one. Of course it would be useless to deny that a large part of the electorate do think that a man must be either a radical or a reactionary, and such voters will doubtless make their prejudice felt against Davis at the polls. He is, however, a man who, brought up in Democratic principles, has by study and reflection confirmed himself in them. He once delivered in Congress a speech setting forth the Democratic creed. It was generally commented upon at the time as the most lucid and inspiring statement of that doctrine that

had been made since the time of Jefferson, who was no reactionary. With Davis's usual luck it fell flat in the country, but Democrats in Congress and in high official station were wild with admiration for it. It is a classic, and it is to be hoped that the Democratic National Committee will resurrect it in this campaign. Whether Davis is elected or beaten, that speech should be a part of the political education of every voter, Republican or Democrat. It is on the same plane as the Federalist or Webster's reply to Hayne.

It goes without saying that such a man is cultured in the best sense. Nicholas Murray Butler, in putting Elihu

Root in nomination for the Presidency at a Republican convention some eight years ago, uttered these pregnant sentences: "It is said that excellence is a disqualification in a democracy. I do not believe it." Nevertheless, he probably did believe it. What he said about Root may be true of Davis, and Senator Hitchcock's friendly but dubious comment already quoted is as true today as it was four years ago. One thing is sure: If whatever opposition or antagonism there may be to Davis in the minds of voters can only be overcome by demagoguery, it will never be overcome. He will not step out of his way nor soil his hands.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We, the representatives of the Democratic Party, in national convention assembled, pay our profound homage to the memory of Woodrow Wilson. Our hearts are filled with gratitude that American Democracy should have produced this man, whose spirit and influence will live on through the ages; and that it was our privilege to have cooperated with him in the advancement of ideals of government which will serve as an example and inspiration for this and future generations. We affirm our abiding faith in those ideals, and pledge ourselves to take up the standard which he bore and to strive for the full triumph of the principles of Democracy to which he dedicated his life.

The Democratic Party believes in equal rights to all and special privileges to none. The Republican Party holds that special privileges are essential to national prosperity. It believes that national prosperity must originate with the special interests and seep down through the channels of trade to the less favored industries, to the wage earners and small salaried employees. It has accordingly enthroned privilege and nurtured selfishness.

The Republican Party is concerned chiefly with the material things; the Democratic Party is concerned chiefly with human rights. The masses, burdened by discriminating laws and unjust administration, are demanding relief. The favored special interests, represented by the Republican Party, contented with their unjust privileges, are demanding that no change be made. The Democratic Party stands for remedial legislation and progress. The Republican Party stands still.

We urge the American people to compare the record of eight unsullied years of Democratic administration with that of the Republican administration. In the former there was no corruption. Party pledges were faithfully fulfilled and a Democratic Congress enacted an extraordinary number of constructive and remedial laws.

The economic life of the nation was quickened. Tariff taxes were reduced. A Federal Trade Commission was created. A Federal farm loan system was established. Child labor legislation was enacted. A good roads bill was passed. Eight-hour laws were

adopted. A Secretary of Labor was given a seat in the Cabinet of the President.

The Clayton amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust act was passed, freeing American labor and taking it from the category of commodities. By the Smith-Lever bill improvement of agricultural conditions was effected. A corrupt practices act was adopted. A well-considered warehouse act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were created, farm loan banks were organized and the Federal Reserve system was established.

Privilege was uprooted. A corrupt lobby was driven from the national capital. A higher sense of individual and national duty was aroused. America enjoyed an unprecedented period of social and material progress.

During the time which intervened between the inauguration of a Democratic Administration on March 4, 1913, and our entrance into the World War, we placed upon the statute books of our country more effective, constructive and remedial legislation than the Republican Party had placed there in a generation. During the great struggle which followed we had a leadership that carried America to greater heights of honor and power and glory than she had ever known before in her entire history. Transition from this period of exalted Democratic leadership to the sordid record of the last three and a half years makes the nation ashamed. It marks the contrast between a high conception of public service and an avid purpose to distribute spoils.

Republican Inefficiency—Never before in our history has the Government been so tainted by corruption and never has an Administration so utterly failed. The nation has been appalled by the revelations of political depravity which have characterized the conduct of public affairs.

We arraign the Republican Party for attempting to limit inquiry into official delinquencies and to impede, if not to frustrate, the investigations to which in the beginning the Republican Party and leaders assented, but which later they regarded with dismay.

These investigations sent the former Secretary of the Interior to Three Rivers in disgrace and dishonor. These investigations revealed the incapacity and indifference to public obligation of the Secretary of the Navy, compelling him, by force of public opinion, to quit the Cabinet.

These investigations confirmed the general impression as to the unfitness of the Attorney General by exposing an official situation and personal contacts which shocked the conscience of the nation and compelled his dismissal from the Cabinet.

These investigations disclosed the appalling conditions of the Veterans' Bureau, with its fraud upon the Government, and its cruel neglect of the sick and disabled soldiers of the World War. These investigations revealed the criminal and fraudulent nature of the oil leases, which caused the Congress, despite the indifference of the Executive, to direct recovery of the public domain and the prosecution of the criminal.

Such are the exigencies of partisan politics that Republican leaders are teaching the strange doctrine that public censure should be directed against those who expose crime rather than against criminals who have committed the offenses. If only three Cabinet officers out of ten are disgraced the country is asked to marvel at how many are free from taint.

Long boastful that it was the only party "fit to govern," the Republican Party has proved its inability to govern even itself. It is at war with itself. As an agency of government it has ceased to function. This nation cannot afford to entrust its welfare to a political organization that cannot master itself, or to an Executive whose policies have been rejected by his own party. To retain in power an Administration of this character would inevitably result in four years more of continued disorder, internal dissension and governmental inefficiency.

A vote for Coolidge is a vote for chaos!

Issues—The dominant issues of the campaign are created by existing conditions. Dishonesty, discrimination, extravagance and inefficiency exist in Government. The burdens of taxation have become unbearable. Distress and bankruptcy in agriculture, the basic industry of our country, is affecting the happiness and prosperity of the whole people. The high cost of living is causing hardship and unrest. The slowing down of industry is adding to the general distress. The tariff, the destruction of our foreign markets and the high cost of transportation are taking the profit out of agriculture, mining and other raw material industries. Large standing armies and the cost of preparing for war still cast their burdens upon humanity. These conditions the existing Republican Administration has proved itself unwilling or unable to redress. The Democratic Party pledges itself to the following program:

Honest Government—We pledge the Democratic Party to drive from public places all who make barter of our national honor, its resources or the administration of its laws; to punish those guilty of these offenses. To put none but the honest in public office; to practice economy in the expenditure of public money; to reverence and respect the rights of all under the Constitution. To condemn and destroy Government by the spy and the blackmailer, as by this Republican Administration was both encouraged and practiced.

Tariff and Taxation—The Fordney-McCumber Tariff act is the most unjust, unscientific and dishonest tariff tax measure ever enacted in our history. It is class legislation, which defrauds all the people for the benefit of a few; it heavily increases the cost of living, penalizes agriculture, corrupts the Government, fosters paternalism, and, in the long run, does not benefit the very interests for which it was enacted. We denounce the Republican tariff laws, which are written in great part in aid of monopolies, and thus prevent that reasonable exchange of commodities which would enable foreign countries to buy our surplus agricultural and manufactured products, with resultant benefit to the tollers and producers of America. Trade interchange, on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating, is a time-honored doctrine of Democratic faith. We declare our party's position to be in favor of a tax on commodities entering the custom houses that will

promote effective competition, protect against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue to support the Government.

The greatest contributing factor in the increase and unbalancing of prices is unscientific taxation. After having increased taxation and the cost of living by two billion dollars, under the Fordney-McCumber tariff, all that the Republican Party could suggest in the way of relief was a cut of \$300,000,000 in direct taxes; and that was to be given principally to those with the largest incomes. Although there was no evidence of a lack of capital for investment to meet the present requirements of all legitimate industrial enterprises, and although the farmers and general consumers were bearing the brunt of tariff favors already granted to special interests, the Administration was unable to devise any plan except one to grant further aid to the few. Fortunately this plan of the Administration failed, and, under Democratic leadership, aided by progressive Republicans, a more equitable one was adopted, which reduced direct taxes by about four hundred and fifty million dollars.

The issue between the President and the Democratic Party is not one of tax reduction or of the conservation of capital. It is an issue of the relative burden of taxation and of the distribution of capital as affected by the taxation of income. The President still stands on the so-called Mellon plan, which his party has just refused to endorse or mention in its platform.

The income tax was intended as a tax upon wealth. It was not intended to take from the poor any part of the necessities of life. We hold that the fairest tax with which to raise revenues for the Federal Government is the income tax. We favor a graduated tax upon incomes, so adjusted as to lay the burdens of government upon the taxpayers in proportion to the benefits they enjoy and their ability to pay.

We oppose the so-called nuisance taxes, sales taxes, and all other forms of taxation that unfairly shift to the consumer the burdens of taxation.

We refer to the Democratic revenue measure passed by the last Congress, as distinguished from the Mellon tax plan, as an illustration of the policy of the Democratic Party. We first made a flat reduction of 25 per cent. upon the tax of all incomes payable this year, and then we so changed the proposed Mellon plan as to eliminate taxes upon the poor, reducing them upon moderate incomes and, in a lesser degree, upon the incomes of multimillionaires. We hold that all taxes are unnecessarily high, and pledge ourselves to further reductions. We denounce the Mellon tax plan as a device to relieve multimillionaires at the expense of other taxpayers, and we accept the issue of taxation tendered by President Coolidge.

Agriculture—During the four years of Republican government the economic condition of the American farmer has changed from comfort to bankruptcy, with all its attendant miseries. The chief causes of this are:

(a) The Republican policy of isolation in international affairs has prevented Europe from getting back to its normal balance, and, by leaving unsolved the economic problems abroad, has driven the European city population from industrial activities to the soil in large numbers in order to earn the mere necessities of life. This has deprived the American farmer of his normal export trade.

(b) The Republican policy of a prohibitive tariff, exemplified in the Fordney-McCumber law, which has forced the American farmer, with his export market debilitated, to buy manufactured goods at sustained high domestic levels, thereby making him the victim of the profiteer.

(c) The Republican policy of high transportation rates, both rail and water, which has made it impossible for the farmer to ship his produce to market at even a living profit.

To offset these policies and their disastrous results, and to restore the farmer again to economic equality with other industrialists, we pledge ourselves:

(a) To adopt an international policy of such

cooperation, by direct official instead of indirect and evasive unofficial means, as will re-establish the farmers' export market by restoring the industrial balance in Europe and the normal flow of international trade with the settlement of Europe's economic problems.

(b) To adjust the tariff so that the farmer and all other classes can buy again in a competitive manufacturers' market.

(c) To readjust and lower rail and water rates, which will make our markets, both for the buyer and the seller, national and international instead of regional and local.

(d) To bring about the early completion of internal waterway systems for transportation, and to develop our water powers for cheaper fertilizer and use on our farms.

(e) To stimulate by every proper governmental activity the progress of the cooperative marketing movement and the establishment of an export marketing corporation or commission in order that the exportable surplus may not establish the price of the whole crop.

(f) To secure for the farmer credits suitable for his needs.

(g) By the establishment of these policies and others naturally supplementary thereto, to reduce the margin between what the producer receives for his products and the consumer has to pay for his supplies, to the end that we secure an equality for agriculture.

Railroads—The sponsors for the Esch-Cummins Transportation act of 1920 at the time of its presentation to Congress, stated that it had for its purpose the reduction of the cost of transportation, the improvement of service, the bettering of labor conditions, the promotion of peaceful cooperation between employer and employee; and, at the same time, the assurance of a fair and just return to the railroads upon their investment. We are in accord with these announced purposes, but contend that the act has failed to accomplish them. It has failed to reduce the cost of transportation. The promised improvement in service has not been realized. The labor provisions of the act have proven unsatisfactory in settling differences between employer and employee. The so-called re-capture clause has worked to the advantage of the strong and has been of no benefit to the weak. The pronouncement in the act for the development of both rail and water transportation has proved futile. Water transportation upon our inland waterways has not been encouraged, and limitation of our coastwise trade is threatened by the administration of the act. It has unnecessarily interfered with the power of the States to regulate purely intrastate transportation. It must, therefore, be so rewritten that the high purposes which the public welfare demands may be accomplished. Railroad freight rates should be so readjusted as to give the bulky, basic, low-priced raw commodities, such as agricultural products, coal and ores, the lowest rates, placing the higher rates upon more valuable and less bulky manufactured products.

Muscle Shoals—We reaffirm and pledge the fulfillment of the policy, with reference to Muscle Shoals, as declared and passed by the Democratic majority of the Sixty-fourth Congress in the National Defense act of 1916, "for the production of nitrates or other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers." We hold that the production of cheaper and higher grade fertilizers is essential to agricultural prosperity. We demand prompt action by Congress for the operation of Muscle Shoals plants to maximum capacity in the production, distribution and sale of commercial fertilizers to the farmers of the country, and we oppose any legislation that limits the production of fertilizers at Muscle Shoals by limiting the amount of power to be used in their manufacture.

Credit and Currency—We denounce the recent cruel and unjust contraction of legitimate and necessary credit and currency, which was directly due to the so-called deflation policy of the Republican Party as declared in its national platform of June, 1920, and in the speech of acceptance of its candidate for the Presidency. Within eighteen months after the election of 1920 this policy resulted in withdrawing bank

loans and discounts by over \$5,000,000,000 and in contracting our currency by over \$1,500,000,000. This contraction bankrupted hundreds of thousands of farmers and stock growers in America and resulted in widespread industrial depression and unemployment. We demand that the Federal Reserve system be so administered as to give stability to industry, commerce and finance, as was intended by the Democratic Party, which gave the Federal Reserve system to the nation.

Reclamation—The Democratic Party was foremost in urging reclamation for the immediate arid and semi-arid lands of the West. These lands are located in the public-land States and, therefore, it is the duty of the Government to utilize their resources by reclamation. Homestead entrymen under reclamation projects have suffered from the extravagant inefficiencies and mistakes of the Federal Government. The Reclamation act of 1924, recommended by the Fact-Finding Commission and added as an amendment to the second deficiency appropriation bill at the last session of Congress, was eliminated from that bill by the Republican conferees in the report they presented to Congress one hour before adjournment. The Democratic Party pledges itself actively, efficiently and economically to carry on the reclamation projects and to make equitable adjustment for the mistakes the Government has made.

Conservation—We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased or otherwise wrongfully transferred to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; revision of the Water Power act, the General Leasing act and all other legislation relating to the public domain that may be essential to its conservation and honest and efficient use on behalf of the people of the country. We believe that the nation should retain title to its water power and we favor the expeditious creation and development of our water power. We favor strict public control and conservation of all the nation's natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil and timber, and their use in such manner as may be to the best interest of our citizens. The conservation of migratory birds, the establishment of game preserves and the protection and conservation of wild life are of importance to agriculturists as well as sportsmen. Our disappearing natural resource of timber calls for a national policy of reforestation.

Highways—Improved roads are of vital importance, not only to commerce and industry but also to agriculture and rural life. We call attention to the record of the Democratic Party in this matter and favor a continuance of Federal aid under existing Federal and State agencies.

Mining—Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. We produce more coal, iron, copper and silver than any other country. The value of our mineral production is second only to agriculture. Mining has suffered like agriculture, and from the same causes. It is the duty of our Government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

Necessaries of Life—We pledge the Democratic Party to regulate by governmental agencies the anthracite coal industry and all other corporations controlling the necessities of life, where public welfare has been subordinated to private interests.

Merchant Marine—The Democratic Party condemns the vacillating policy of the Republican Administration in its failure to develop an American flag shipping policy. There has been a marked decrease in the volume of American commerce carried in American vessels as compared to the record under a Democratic Administration. We oppose as illogical and unsound all efforts to overcome by subsidies the handicaps to American shipping and commerce imposed by Republican policies. We condemn the practice of certain American railroads in favoring foreign ships, and pledge ourselves to correct such discriminations. We declare for an

American-owned merchant marine, American built, and manned by American crews, which is essential for naval security in war, and is a protection to the American farmer and manufacturer against excessive ocean freight charges on products of farm and factory. We declare the Government should own and operate such ships as will insure the accomplishment of these purposes and to continue such operation as long as it may be necessary without obstructing the development and growth of a privately owned American flag shipping.

Education—We believe with Thomas Jefferson and other founders of the Republic that ignorance is the enemy of freedom, and that each State, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education. The Federal Government should offer to the States such counsel, advice and aid as may be made available through the Federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

Civil Service—We denounce the action of the Republican Administration in its violations of the principles of civil service by its partisan removals and manipulation of the eligible lists in the Post Office Department and other Governmental departments; by its packing the Civil Service Commission so that that commission became the servile instrument of the Administration in its wish to deny to the ex-service men their preferential rights under the law and the evasion of the requirements of the law with reference to appointments in the department. We pledge the Democratic Party faithfully to comply with the spirit as well as the regulation of civil service; to extend its provisions to internal revenue officers and to other employees of the Government not in executive positions, and to secure to ex-service men preference in such appointments.

Postal Employees—We declare in favor of adequate salaries to provide decent living conditions for postal employees.

Popular Elections—We pledge the Democratic Party to a policy which will prevent members of either house who fail of re-election from participating in the subsequent sessions of Congress. This can be accomplished by fixing the days for convening the Congress immediately after the biennial national election; and to this end we favor granting the right to the people of the several States to vote on proposed constitutional amendments.

Probation—We favor the extension of the probation principle to the courts of the United States.

Activities of Women—We welcome the women of the nation to their rightful place by the side of men in the control of the Government, whose burdens they have always shared. The Democratic Party congratulates them upon the essential part which they have taken in the progress of our country, and the zeal with which they are using their political power to aid the enactment of beneficent laws and the exacting of fidelity in the public service.

Veterans of Wars—We favor generous appropriations, honest management and sympathetic care and assistance in the hospitalization, rehabilitation and compensation of veterans of all wars and their dependents. The humanizing of the Veterans' Bureau is imperatively required.

Campaign Contributions—The nation now knows that the predatory interests have, by supplying Republican campaign funds, systematically purchased legislative favors and administrative immunity. The practice must stop; our nation must return to honesty and decency in politics. Elections are public affairs conducted for the sole purpose of ascertaining the will of the sovereign voters. Therefore, we demand that national elections shall hereafter be kept free from the poison of excessive private contributions. To this end we favor reasonable means of publicity, at public expense, so that candidates, properly before the people for Federal offices, may present their claims at a minimum of cost. Such publicity should precede the primary and the election. We favor the pro-

hibition of individual contributions, direct and indirect, to the campaign funds of Congressmen, Senators or Presidential candidates, beyond a reasonable sum to be fixed in the law, for both individual contributions and total expenditures, with requirements for full publicity. We advocate a complete revision of the Corrupt Practices act to prevent Newberryism and the election evils disclosed by recent investigations.

Narcotics—Recognizing in narcotic addiction, especially the spreading of heroin addiction among the youth, a grave peril to America and to the human race, we pledge ourselves vigorously to take against it all legitimate and proper measures for education, for control and for suppression at home and abroad.

Law Enforcement—The Republican Administration has failed to enforce the prohibition law, is guilty of trafficking in liquor permits and has become the protector of violators of this law. The Democratic Party pledges itself to respect and enforce the Constitution and all laws.

The Rights of the States—We demand that the States of the Union shall be preserved in all their vigor and power. They constitute a bulwark against the centralizing and destructive tendencies of the Republican Party. We condemn the efforts of the Republican Party to nationalize the functions and duties of the States. We oppose the extension of bureaucracy, the creation of unnecessary bureaus and Federal agencies, and the multiplication of offices and office-holders. We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government essential to the preservation of the free institutions of our Republic.

Asiatic Immigration—We pledge ourselves to maintain our established position in favor of the exclusion of Asiatic immigration.

Philippine Independence—The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable Government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

Alaska—The maladministration of affairs in Alaska is a matter of concern to all our people. Under the Republican Administration in Alaska development has ceased and the fishing industry has been seriously impaired. We pledge ourselves to correct the evils which have grown up in the development of that rich domain. An adequate form of local self-government for Alaska must be provided, and to that end we favor the establishment of a full territorial form of government for that Territory, similar to that enjoyed by all the Territories, except Alaska, during the last century of American history.

Hawaii—We believe in a policy for continuing the improvements of the National Park, the harbors and breakwaters, and the Federal roads of the Territory of Hawaii.

Virgin Islands—We recommend legislation for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands.

The Near East—We condemn the Lausanne Treaty. It barter legitimate American rights and betrays Armenia for the Chester oil concession. We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award respecting Armenia.

We welcome to the sisterhood of republics the ancient land of Greece, which gave to our party its priceless name. We extend to her Government and people our cordial good wishes.

War—War is a relic of barbarism, and it is justifiable only as a measure of defense. In the event of war in which the man power of the nation is drafted, all other resources should likewise be drafted. This will tend to discourage war by depriving it of its profits.

We demand a strict and sweeping reduction of armaments by land and sea, so that there shall be no competitive military program or naval building. Until agreements to this end have been made, we advocate an army and navy adequate for our national safety.

Our Government should secure a joint agreement with all nations for world disarmament and also for a referendum of war, except in case of actual or threatened attack.

Those who must furnish the blood and bear the burdens imposed by war should, whenever possible, be consulted before this supreme sacrifice is required of them.

League of Nations—The Democratic Party pledges all its energies to the outlawing of the whole war system. We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings on the battlefield is any more necessary to man's highest development than is killing by individuals. The only hope for world peace and for economic recovery lies in the organized efforts of sovereign nations cooperating to remove the causes of war and to substitute law and order for violence. Under Democratic leadership a practical plan was devised under which fifty-four nations are now operating and which has for its fundamental purpose the free cooperation of all nations in the work of peace.

The Government of the United States for the last four years has had no foreign policy, and consequently it has delayed the restoration of the political and economic agencies of the world. It has impaired our self-respect at home and injured our prestige abroad. It has curtailed our foreign markets and ruined our agricultural prices.

It is of supreme importance to civilization and to mankind that America be placed and kept on the right side of the great moral question of all time, and, therefore, the Democratic Party renews its declaration of confidence in the ideals of world peace, the League of Nations and the World Court of Justice as together constituting the supreme effort of the statesmanship and religious convictions of our time to organize the world for peace. Further, the Democratic Party declares that it will be the purpose of the next Administration to do all in its power to secure for our country that moral leadership in the family of nations which, in the providence of God, has been so clearly marked out for it.

There is no substitute for the League of Nations as an agency working for peace; therefore, we believe that, in the interest of permanent peace, and in the lifting of the great burdens of war from the backs of the people, and in order to establish a permanent foreign policy on these supreme questions, not subject to change with change of party Administrations, it is desirable, wise and necessary to lift this question out of party politics, and to that end to take the sense of the American people at a referendum election, advisory to the Government, to be held officially under act of Congress, free from all other questions and candidates, after ample time for full consideration and discussion throughout the country, upon the question, in substance, as follows: "Shall the United States become a member of the League of Nations upon such reservations or amendments to the Covenant of the League as the President and the Senate of the United States may agree upon?" Immediately upon an affirmative vote we will carry out such mandate.

Waterways—We favor and will promote deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and to the Atlantic Ocean.

We favor a policy for the fostering and building of inland waterways and the removal of discrimination against water transportation. Flood control and the lowering of flood levels are essential to the safety of life and property, the productivity of our lands, the navigability of our streams and the reclaiming of our wet and overflowed lands and the creation of hydroelectric power. We favor the expeditious construction of flood relief works on the Mississippi and Colorado Rivers and also such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado River as may be found to be feasible and practicable.

We favor liberal appropriations for prompt coordinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements and water power development on navigable streams and their tributaries, to secure reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of water power.

We favor suspension of the granting of Federal water power licenses by the Federal Water Power Commission until Congress has received reports from the Water Power Commission with regard to application for such licenses.

Fraudulent Stock Sales—We favor the immediate passage of such legislation as may be necessary to enable the States efficiently to enforce their laws relating to the gradual financial strangling of innocent investors, workers and consumers, caused by the indiscriminate promotion, refinancing and reorganizing of corporations on an inflated and overcapitalized basis, resulting already in the undermining and collapse of many railroads, public service and industrial corporations, manifesting itself in unemployment, irreparable loss and waste, and which constitute a serious menace to the stability of our economic system.

Private Monopolies—The Federal Trade Commission has submitted to the Republican Administration numerous reports showing the existence of monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade, and has recommended proceedings against these violators of the law. The few prosecutions which have resulted from this abundant evidence furnished by this agency created by the Democratic Party, while proving the indifference of the Administration to the violations of law by trusts and monopolies and its friendship for them, nevertheless demonstrate the value of the Federal Trade Commission. We declare that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, and pledge the Democratic Party to vigorous enforcement of existing laws against monopoly and illegal combinations and to the enactment of such further measures as may be necessary.

Aviation—We favor a sustained development of aviation, both by the Government and commercially.

Labor and Child Welfare—Labor is not a commodity. It is human. We favor collective bargaining and laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed.

We favor the enactment of legislation providing that the product of convict labor shipped from one State to another shall be subject to the laws of the latter State exactly as though they had been produced therein.

In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depression, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing that the construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

We pledge the party to cooperate with the State Governments for the welfare, education and protection of child life and all necessary safeguards against exhaustive, debilitating employment conditions for women.

Without the votes of Democratic members of the Congress the Child Labor amendment would not have been submitted for ratification.

The Latin-American Republics—From the day of their birth friendly relations have existed between the Latin-American republics and the United States. That friendship grows stronger as our relations become more intimate. The Democratic Party sends to these republics its cordial greetings. God has made us neighbors—justice shall keep us friends.

Civil Liberties—The Democratic Party reaffirms its adherence and devotion to those cardinal principles contained in the Constitution and the precepts upon which our Government is founded, that Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that the Church and the State shall be and remain separate, and that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States. These principles we pledge ourselves ever to defend and maintain. We insist at all times upon obedience to the orderly processes of the law and deplore and condemn any effort to arouse religious or racial dissension.

Conclusion—Affirming our faith in these principles, we submit our cause to the people.

Labor in American Politics

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

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THE trend of American labor in politics may be judged in two ways—one by taking the long distance record; the other by considering what is actually being done at the present time. Both lead to this conclusion: American labor is non-partisan in politics as between political parties. It has frequently supported a much larger percentage of the candidates of one party than of the other, but it has done this on the basis of the individual records and not on the basis of party records.

In the 1920 campaign the American Federation of Labor slogan was: "Support your friends and elect them; oppose your enemies and defeat them." This applied to candidates for all offices. Records of officeholders have been kept by the American Federation of Labor since 1896. As each campaign approaches these records are studied. Such action as Labor takes is taken on the basis of the records. The one case in which platforms count heavily in conjunction with the individual record is that of Presidential elections. Labor feels that the national platform cannot be considered independently of the candidates, nor can the candidates be considered wholly apart from the platforms upon which they run. In the 1920 political campaign the American Federation of Labor presented a series of demands to the conventions of the two major parties. The platforms were compared with these demands. The records of the candidates were then analyzed. The information thus compiled was furnished to the trade unions throughout the country. As Labor compiled the record, one candidate and one platform stood far above the other in the matter of meeting Labor's requirements. There never was a clear recommendation in favor of one candidate,

however, though as the campaign wore on the superiority of one candidate and one platform over the others in the matter of meeting Labor's requirements was emphasized more and more. Congressional and other candidates were considered on their records, without regard to the platform of the party for which they stood as candidates for election or re-election. There is no reason to presume that it will be otherwise in the present campaign.

The cold fact of the matter is that Labor is not concerned with the party label attached to a candidacy. "Labor is partisan to principles, not to parties," is a declaration that has been repeated scores of times by President Gompers and in official declarations of the American Federation of Labor. It was stated a great many times in the 1920 campaign that Labor had a "black-list" of Congressional candidates. This was not the case. The American Federation of Labor furnished the record of every member of Congress to the voters in the home State or district of each one. But no such list was ever compiled and none is likely to be compiled in the campaign of 1924. It is possible for any person to compile a list of Congressmen whose votes have been hostile to Labor measures and give currency to such a list. The American Federation of Labor leaves to the organizations in each election district the matter of making the choice of candidates to be supported. It may assist in fighting for the defeat or election of individual candidates, but it will do so only in accord with the wishes of the unions in the district or State. Organizers of the American Federation of Labor spoke and worked for and against certain candidates in the 1920 campaign, but in no case did they run counter to

the wishes of the union organizations in the locality involved.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The reason for this action is found in the fundamental principle of local and trade autonomy which runs throughout the structure of the American Federation of Labor. That is why the Federation, opposed to third party movements, went into Minnesota to help elect Hendrik Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the United States Senate. The Minnesota State Federation of Labor had gone on record for these candidates and was a part of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party whose candidates they were. If the American Federation of Labor supports more candidates of one party than of another, the reason is in the records. This will be more clearly understood if it is borne in mind that the American Federation of Labor is an economic organization. Its program and its aims are overwhelmingly economic in character. On purely political principles the probability is that trade union members form their conclusions just about as other persons do. It is where economic issues are involved that they come together.

In the session of Congress just ended, Labor had in mind two paramount issues, if we consider only those that were successful. Taking into account those that were unsuccessful, a third should be added. The two successful measures were the Child Labor Constitutional Amendment and the Immigration act; the unsuccessful one was the Barkley-Howell bill, dealing with railroads. None of these measures was political; none was what could be called Republican or Democratic. Nor is there any political character in any of the fifteen demands submitted by the American Federation of Labor to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions this year. These demands deal with such questions as the right of existence for unions, the limitation of the use of the injunction, repeal of restrictive laws and restriction of immigration. There is nothing about these questions to give them either a Republican

or Democratic partisan stamp. Some Republicans may favor the Esch-Cummins Railroad Labor act and some Democrats may oppose it, but Labor does not for that reason concede the measure to have a partisan political character. Incidentally, the votes on this measure were among the important votes listed in formulating the records of candidates in 1920 and in 1922, and it is not likely that they will be forgotten in the present campaign. If Labor comes to the support of a predominant number of candidates nominated by any party, it will be because the records of the candidates warrant the action and not because of a growing partisanship. Similarly, if the Federation, in the present campaign, comes strongly to the support of one candidate for the Presidency it will be because the platform and record of that candidate warrants if not compels the action. It will not be because of a growing political partisanship as such.

The subject of third party proclivities as an expression of a desire for partisan political action is deserving of consideration. It is a matter of record through convention after convention that there has for years been a minority of American trade unionists who favored separate political party action. For a number of years the Socialists composed this minority. They argued and battled for Labor adherence to the Socialist Party. The Socialist agitation described an arc ascending and then declining in strength with the high mark registering at about 1912. It has now practically disappeared as a distinct force. Its place has been taken by the Farmer-Labor movement and by the Communists. It is not always easy to draw the line between these two movements, because the Communists insinuate themselves into the Farmer-Labor movement wherever possible, in pursuance of the "united front" policy. The meaning of this policy is simple, but frequently misunderstood. It is to unite with every dissenting group. The Communists strive to make their own the protests and complaints of dissidents everywhere, in the hope of gaining converts for communism and in the hope

of using dissident groups for Communist tactical purposes.

It is not possible at this time to gauge with any accuracy the strength of the movement for Farmer-Labor partisan political action. If, in some sections, there are signs of growing Farmer-Labor cohesion along lines of separate political organization, there are in other sections signs of a decline in the movement. Minnesota, for example, continues to maintain, so far as can be estimated, the Farmer-Labor strength registered in the last election when the party carried the State. In Illinois, on the other hand, the Farmer-Labor Party has abandoned the idea of nominating a ticket in this campaign. Illinois Labor in this campaign will undoubtedly adhere to the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor. Those who envision the early establishment of a separate Labor political party in the United States quite likely lose sight of the fundamentally economic character of the American trade union movement.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Of great significance is the declaration adopted by the American Federation of Labor convention at Portland in October, 1923. This declaration took American labor further away from politics by setting forth industrial democracy as the goal and the workshop as the scene of action for the construction of that democracy. It demanded that politicians cease to intrude upon industry. The fact is that if American Labor has used politics for one thing more than for another, it has been to keep industry free from political or governmental interference. The fight in politics has been more frequently against something than for something. The opposition to the Sherman Anti-Trust law is an instance in point. As Labor representatives have put the case repeatedly: "Labor wants to use politics as a means of keeping the industrial road open." Labor resorts to Congress to secure such measures as the Seamen's act, the Immigration act, the Child Labor act and, when possible, to obtain an effective anti-injunction act. These measures, as Labor

views them, are measures that help to keep the industrial road open. Nor is there any other way in which they could be secured.

As to immigration, Labor believes there should be a complete stoppage of immigration for a considerable period. The reason for this is twofold. First, as President Gompers has put it, "we must have time to make this an American nation." That is, there must be opportunity for the assimilation of foreign-speaking peoples now here. These peoples must become knit together as Americans, thinking as Americans, living as Americans, devoted to American institutions. Second, immigration must be restricted as a necessary measure of protection for American standards of living. Labor contends that the low-wage competition of Europe, transplanted to America through immigration, must inevitably tend to reduce the standards of those now in America, to the detriment of our whole social fabric. There are those who contend that this means restriction of output in America by restricting those who may contribute to output. Labor counters with the assertion that there is and will be more than sufficient labor and machine power to furnish all the output required and more. It is pointed out that new machinery is being developed constantly and that this machinery increases the output per worker both steadily and rapidly. Three such machines are those now in use in glass bottle blowing and cigar and cigarette making. In agriculture, too, there is a growing use of machinery. The tractor is replacing the horse, and other farm tools, such as cultivators, are being motorized successfully.

Labor denies with much heat the oft-repeated charge of "slacking" or "soldiering" to restrict output. No less an authority than President Gompers has repudiated every such device as anti-social, ineffective and harmful. The trade union movement makes a considerable point of its pride in keeping bargains or agreements, and it is a part of these agreements that the expected work shall be performed faithfully. Analysis of a great many charges of "slowing

down" have proved the charges without foundation, except perhaps in the case of an individual here and there—and it is pointed out that individual sloth is not a special attribute of wage workers, but is found in all ranks and walks of industrial life. The establishment by Labor of twenty-three successful banks within the past four years may be cited as one substantial indication of American Labor's elemental thrift and integrity.

FUNCTION OF TRADE UNIONS

Let us return for a moment to the trend toward even greater reliance upon industrial action and the growing tendency to regard political action as a complement to industrial activity and not as a major function standing by itself apart. The following sentences are quoted from the declaration adopted by the Federation at its Portland convention:

What we have observed is that the period ending with the beginning of the World War found political democracy in its fullest state of development, while the close of that period of overwhelming upheaval marked the opening of the period of intelligent demand and living need for industrial democracy. The close of the war marked for us a turning point in human relations and threw forth in bold relief the inadequacy of existing forms and institutions. Henceforth trade unionism has a larger message and a larger function in society. Henceforth the movement for the organization of the workers into trade unions has a deeper meaning than the mere organization of groups for the advancement of group interests, however vital that function may yet remain.

Henceforth the organization of the workers into trade unions must mean the conscious organization of one of the most vital functional elements for enlightened participation in a democracy of industry whose purpose must be the extension of freedom, the enfranchisement of the producer as such, the rescue of industry from chaos, profiteering and purely individual whim, including individual incapacity, and the rescue of industry also from the domination of incompetent political bodies. . . .

For the future industry must become something of which we have a national consciousness. It must cease to be a disconnected collection of groups, like States without a union. The future demands an American industry, in which it shall be possible for all to give of their best through the orderly processes of democratic, representative organization. . . .

It was the abuses attendant upon an unregulated natural industrial impulse that brought upon our country that legislative monstrosity known as the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It is a mistaken zeal on the part of political government, a zeal often encouraged by powers that misinterpret their own rôle in our industrial life, that burden us with the anachronism known as the injunction. It is a combination of industry's own neg-

lect and of Government's effort to function where industry for the moment fails or seems to fail that give us a growing number of boards, commissions and tribunals to add their weight to the burden of industry. . . .

It is not the mission of industrial groups to clash and struggle against each other. Such struggles are the signs and signals of dawning comprehension, the birth pangs of an industrial order attempting through painful experience to find itself and to discover its proper functioning. The true rôle of industrial groups, however, is to come together, to legislate in peace, to find the way forward in collaboration, to give of their best for the satisfaction of human needs. There must come to industry the orderly functioning that we have been able to develop in our political life. We must find the way to the development of an industrial franchise comparable to our political franchise. There must be developed a sense of responsibility and justice and orderliness. . . .

Every factor that enters into the sustenance or operation of industry must be safeguarded and its just reward assured, but there must be an end to final control by any single factor. We have had and must continue to have, until democracy finds its way into industry, abuses for which all producers and all consumers have had to pay through profiteering and privation.

The end of such a state of affairs must come at no distant time, or political bureaucracy will gain the ascendancy. And we cannot do other than regard such an eventuality as the final mark of incompetency to manage an industrial civilization. . . .

To function must be the object and democratic participation of all who give service must be the mechanism that makes this possible.

Upon this declaration President Gompers made the following terse and illuminating comment:

Who can foresee the full effect and significance of the more perfect organization and coming together of those in the engineering profession, those engaged in management, those who give service in clerical capacities, those who labor in the many fields of productive effort? Only those who are wage earners may enter the trade union movement, but is the duty not equally clear upon those in other fields to come together in their own fields, in their own way, so that they may participate properly in the industrial life of our country, in its decisions and in its forward march? Is there not possible a great and far-reaching development through such organization in every field and through the coming together for counsel, deliberation and decision of representatives chosen by those who are organized in every useful field? These are questions worthy of consideration, forced upon us by the facts and the logic of our time. After all, what else is meant by industrial democracy?

Discussing the question further President Gompers has said:

Institutions try to perpetuate themselves. Political government seeks to retain all power and all functions. That this gives rise to incongruous situations is natural. That politicians should misunderstand the natural thing that is going on and should try to checkmate it is to be expected. It is no discredit to an institution that it cannot live forever. If it serves well in its time that is honor enough. Our political Government has

served magnificently as the custodian of all power for a long time. It gave regeneration to the world. It will continue to serve nobly for no one knows how long, but it cannot serve in all capacities without strangling the very thing which it was devised to save—human liberty.

Still more recently, in the July issue of *The American Federationist*, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers writes:

With a national political campaign already under way, many eyes are turned in the direction of labor's efforts in that struggle. Various so-called third party movements are under way, none of them of any particular promise, but all more or less confusing in their locality. Those who turn to these so-called third party movements proclaim their profound disgust with what they term the reactionary policy of the American Federation of Labor. They are impatient, and they fail to see that their impatience is leading them to the kind of haste which makes only for delay. The political policy of the American Federation of Labor will bear examination at all times, and examination at this time may be helpful to some who do not fully comprehend its meaning, or who have been beguiled by the phrases of the experimenters and dreamers. * * *

The American Federation of Labor is a labor organization. Its principal object is to protect and promote the interests of the toiling masses. It must, in the field of politics, press for those men and measures that advance the interests of the toiling masses. Labor has its broad interests of citizenship and general progress, but its first concern is solely with the welfare of the great masses of wage earners. Principles for which labor contends cannot be the private property of any political party. These principles have to do with humanitarian and libertarian issues. They are neither Republican nor Democratic, neither socialistic nor Populistic, not any more than that they are Presbyterian or Baptist. These principles must be considered by men and be accepted or rejected by men. If a whole political party organization wishes to support any or all of labor's principles, that is entirely agreeable to labor. But such an act could not put the party label on the principles to the exclusion of any other support. * * * Nor is there any labor demand that inherently requires a new political party for its success.

It is all condensed in the simple statement that essentially labor's demands are not political. To enter into a partisan relationship with any political party—even a party which might call itself a labor party—would necessitate the espousal of propositions that were not an outgrowth of the labor movement and its requirements. The labor movement would have to participate in the fight for or against propositions of a purely political nature having nothing to do with labor. And, regardless of what the intellectuals may say—they must be saying something at all times—there is no partisan political labor movement anywhere in America, Europe or elsewhere, that has yet demonstrated its real value to labor or to the masses of the people generally. That is said not as a criticism, but as a judgment on the results achieved. The American trade union movement is a labor movement. It has to its credit achievements unrivaled anywhere else in the world. It has demonstrated the soundness of its own contention, which

is that a labor movement cannot also be something else and maintain its labor character and secure its labor results.

The so-called third party movements may gratify certain ambitions. They may suit certain purposes. If the time comes when neither of the now dominant parties responds to the will of the people, then the people will either rebuild one or both of them or abandon both of them in a great revolt and rebuilding, but that will not be the sort of thing we know today as a third party movement. That will not be the carbonated performances of little coteries, nor the calculated political sabotage of revolutionists.

American labor has developed its non-partisan political policy out of long experience. If experience had shown a better method, that better method would have been adopted. No movement in the world responds more readily to the teachings of experience than the American trade union movement. None is less afraid to blaze the way along new lines, if there is proof that those lines are sound. In that connection the temptation is to speak frankly and to say that many of those who shout for partisan political action do so because they are afraid not to. They are afraid that they will lose caste in their surroundings, afraid they will no longer be considered good proletarians, good revolutionists, good uncompromisers. This is all very silly for human beings; but, after all, many human beings are silly and many are sadly lacking in conviction, purpose and courage.

That is the political status of American labor as the great 1924 campaign gets under way. American labor will be partisan to principles. It will fight to the finish against every candidate who is opposed to those principles; it will fight to the last for every candidate who is for them; and it is all the same whether these are candidates for the Presidency, for Congress or for the least and most humble office in the last small village on the further border line. And labor is going to win tremendous victories this year.

POLITICAL ACTION

It will thus be seen that this is by no means an abandonment of political action, but an expression of a new understanding of the rôle and value of political action. In addition, and perhaps far above that, it is an expression of faith in industry and in the competency of industry. It is this final expression of a philosophy that has been growing through the years of American labor experience that finally provides the answer to the great query as to whether American labor is headed for a third party experiment, or for such a political development as that which has taken place in Great Britain. The fundamental philosophy of American labor differs radically from that of British labor, and the paths of the two movements must in consequence diverge. There can be no safe prophecy as to what American labor may do in the

realm of politics for reasons of seeming expediency, or for no apparent reasons at all, but that it will ever place in political action the whole-souled faith expressed by British labor can be denied with the greatest safety. The whole faith and tendency of American labor is in industrial action and industrial democracy and it has the utmost abhorrence for State socialism, or for what may be termed governmentalism. The trend of British labor is quite in the opposite direction; it is apparently placing an increasing reliance upon the State and is willing that the State should increase its field of activity and intrusion in industry. The British Labor Party, a federation of political organizations, accepts the intellectual and practical leadership of the Independent Labor Party. The Independent Labor Party is a Socialist Party, affiliated to the Socialist and Labor International. British labor accepts Socialist political leadership and to a considerable extent the leadership of Socialists in the unions themselves in industrial activity. American labor faces in exactly the opposite direction, repudiating every iota of socialism and seeking to prevent the State from enlarging its encroachments in the field of industry.

OPPOSITION TO BOLSHEVISM

In the case of Russia the line of cleavage is much sharper. The unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have in many cases expelled groups of members organized to promote the propaganda of communism and the Federation itself has suspended one union for such activity. In two other notable cases it threatened to suspend the charters of city central bodies unless such practices were discontinued. The American Federation of Labor has two grounds for hostility to the Communist authorities in Russia and their propagandists in America. First of all, the Federation is opposed to the idea of dictatorship. Dictatorship is fundamental with Communists. They preach it and apply it. It is on that ground, first of all, that the Federation in convention, year after year, has urged non-recognition of Soviet Russia. In addi-

tion to that prime reason, the American Federation of Labor has declared that the Communists are seeking the destruction of the American Federation of Labor as a requisite to the overthrow of the American Republic and the establishment of a dictatorship. When the American Federation of Labor expected to be summoned to produce testimony before Senator Borah's committee in its investigation of Soviet propaganda, there was prepared for the committee a case consisting of more than 1,000 pages of manuscript, most of which was documentary in character. Before all hope of submitting this evidence was abandoned the case had grown to something over 1,500 pages. In this mass of evidence there is a large volume of material showing Communist activities within American trade unions. A. F. of L. organizers, moreover, tell in great detail their experiences in encountering and dealing with Communist propagandists in unions in many sections of the country.

The direct connection with Russia is, Labor points out, easily established. More than that, it is admitted. The Workers' Party of America is affiliated with the Third, or Communist, International. The underground Communist Party is likewise affiliated. The Trade Union Educational League, of which William Z. Foster is the head, is affiliated with the Profintern, the Red International of labor unions. It is not necessary to prove what is admitted. It is admitted that these organizations in America follow with military faithfulness the direction of the Moscow "general staff" (to quote their own language) in their work in America. A recent instance of this faithfulness was the publicly announced reference to Moscow for rejection or approval of the plans to be followed by the Workers' Party of America in regard to the Farmer-Labor Convention at St. Paul, on June 17, 18 and 19.

It is difficult to say whether the Communists are making headway among American trade unionists. It is difficult to say whether they are gaining or losing strength. Their start was given

them by war conditions and partly by the ill-concealed resentment of groups of alien workers within the United States, immediately after the revolution which seated Lenin in the dictator's chair in Russia. So far as the general public is concerned it may remain a moot question as to whether money has come from Russia to the United States, but there are some trade unionists whose own observations lead them to require no further proof, although perhaps they could not or would not produce evidence of legal value. It is probably fair and accurate to say that the officials of the American Federation of Labor do not consider the question of actual transfer of money as of any great moment. They regard the work that is being done as the important thing. Communist propaganda, in their view, is just as dangerous and just as much to be opposed when it is of a voluntary character as when it is paid for by gold from Moscow. But this propaganda among the unions of America is, in my opinion, losing ground, though it is in other circles probably gaining ground. It is partly the inclination of a certain type of non-trade union intellectuals—shall we say the *Intelligentsia*?—to speak in such a manner as to convey the impression that they speak for Labor that may give color to certain claims of Communist gains in the ranks of Labor. Practically all the trade union publications of America come under my observation week by week. I observe in these publications, which may be accepted as a fair index of Labor sentiment, a growing hostility to the whole range of Communist propaganda and a growing bitterness of protest against its continuance among trade unionists.

LATIN AMERICAN LABOR

No discussion of Communist propaganda, nor for that matter of the whole range of conflict between American Labor and European Labor, as well as Bolshevism, can be complete without considering at least briefly the Latin American nations. Six years ago at Laredo, Texas, just as the guns ceased firing in France, the Pan-American Fed-

eration of Labor was born. Samuel Compers was elected President and has held that office without interruption since. The pronounced effect of this organization has been to counteract in much of Latin America the revolutionary syndicalist philosophy which had been the steady diet of Latin Americans from the earliest days. It was but natural that Latin American workers should have turned to this doctrine. In their search for a "literature of protest" they turned first naturally to writings in their own language and of these the overwhelming portion was of the revolutionary syndicalist type. Until the Pan-American Federation of Labor came into being, such labor movements as existed in Latin America had either no knowledge of the philosophy and tactics of American labor, or a wholly inadequate and fragmentary knowledge. Where the contact with Spanish-speaking workers has been closest in the last six years, the turn in the tide has been most marked. The contact has been closest and most constant in the case of Mexico. Proceeding southward the American influence diminishes. For this reason the workers of Argentina are still largely devoted to the old-time doctrines, and it is also for this reason that they, more than any others on the American continents, have been swayed by Bolshevik ideas. Mexico, however, has developed a trade union movement which largely follows the American Federation of Labor in the matter of tactics. More and more the underlying philosophy comes to be like that of the American Federation of Labor, with variations due to local conditions and in national psychology. It is notable that there is not in all Latin America a national labor movement in actual affiliation with any of the European internationals. The only approach is in the case of Argentina, where for a year something like an open forum discussion has been raging over the question of affiliating with Moscow. For the present neither Moscow nor the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam has any affiliated organization in the Western Hemisphere.

The Franco-Slovakian Treaty of Alliance

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ON Jan. 25, 1924, France and Czechoslovakia signed a treaty of alliance. This diplomatic event, the culmination of an old and lasting friendship between the two nations, was intended as a bond of security for both countries, and also as an instrument of peace on a continent still suffering from the turmoil of the great war.

"Bohemia existed before Austria and will exist after her," said the great Czech patriot Francis Palacky in 1869. It was indeed Palacky who revived the Bohemian nation by his fight for an independent language and history.

In the past there has been a never-ending fight between the Slavs and the German hordes who drove them back to the east, destroying everything and enslaving the people. In Charlemagne's time all the country beyond the Elbe was Slav; Prussia in the northern plains and Austria in the valley of the Danube united in a Teutonic offensive against the Slavs. Between these two forces pushing toward the east ("Drang nach Osten," as the Germans say) were the Czechs, who withstood the German influence under shelter of the Bohemian mountains of Moravia and Slovakia. To drive them back Austrians and Magyars joined together; the flow of Germans strove repeatedly to find a way to the Bohemian upland, the result being the continual shrinkage of the Bohemian fatherland. Of the many Slavs who occupied Northern Germany in the tenth century there remain only those on the small islet of the Wends of Lussac, who number about 150,000. The Czechs, likewise, would have disappeared with equal rapidity had it not been for their energetic resistance and for the constant and strong protection of several countries, especially France.

France and Bohemia have always had to struggle against the same enemy—the Germans. In the Middle Ages there was a constant interchange of thought between the Czechs and the French. It was in 1346, at the battle of Crécy, that Jean de Luxembourg, the blind King of Bohemia, was led to battle by two of his knights, guiding his horse by the bridle and throwing himself into the fight, struck and died. In memory of the hero a monument was erected in 1905 on the battlefield where France was on the point of losing her independence. Bohemia lost her independence in 1620 at the battle of the White Mountain, when she was crushed by the Hapsburgs and Germanized by force. Her nobility was destroyed or exiled, her universities changed into German institutions, the Czech language slowly died away as a civilized language and became a kind of dialect among a few millions of peasants driven to the mountains.

Then came the French Revolution in 1789. France, after helping the fight for American independence, carried out her own great Revolution, the liberator of peoples. The peoples stood out against the kings to claim their rights. France responded to the cry for resurrection and independence, rousing the sleeping peoples from their tombs. This tremendous task of liberation which fills the nineteenth century came to its culmination in 1914 through the attack of the Germans and their ultimate defeat.

The awakening of the Czechoslovak people was rendered particularly difficult, because ever since 1620 the Bohemian crown had been virtually incorporated with the dual imperial crown of Austria-Hungary and the two

branches of the German race aimed at union. Bohemia had no hope but in France. She knew that a German victory meant oppression for small nations. When, in 1870, France had been defeated and despoiled of two of her most cherished provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, only one protestation was heard throughout Europe—that of Bohemia. In this noble and courageous document the Czech members of the Bohemian Diet proclaimed the right of every nation, small or large, to mold its own destinies and made a solemn protest against the unjustified use of force. They claimed the right for Bohemia to be an autonomous State, as part of a federation under the control and protection of Austria. To lead such a federation was, from their standpoint, "the mission of Austria in the world's history." The downfall of the Hapsburgs may be ascribed to their failure to organize this confederation. Further on the document says:

If the German Nation were to separate a portion of the French territory against the will of the people to remain French, or if it wanted to force a certain mode of government on the French Nation, Germany would commit a crime against the freedom of the people and would put might in place of right. The Czech Nation cannot but express its warmest feelings of affection to this noble and glorious France that defends today her independence and country, to which civilization owes so much, and to which we owe the greatest progress in the principles of humanity and liberty. The Czech Nation sincerely believes that to tear away from a glorious and heroic nation a stretch of its territory would result only in increasing the danger of wars and be a menace to civilization. * * * The Czech Nation is a small one, but it has courage and a soul equal to none. It would be ashamed to remain silent in the face of this injustice, and could not permit without a solemn protest the rule of might.

CZECH SYMPATHIES

Two years later, when the German Rector of Prague University attended the inauguration of the new German University of Strasbourg on May 3, 1872, the Czech students protested solemnly against the affront to France, an insult in which they would not take part. "Under the pretense of science," they declared, "the German usurpers have just celebrated the savage rites of conquest and domination on a land torn from France by brute force." Could France ever forget such a touching and noble manifestation against right violated by might? From that time on a new bond united the two nations. Inasmuch as official relations between the French Government and the Czech people, deprived of their independence, were out of the question, the municipal councillors of Paris and Prague, during the period from 1900 to 1912, exchanged visits, which were in the two capitals the occasion for splendid festivities, much to the annoyance of the Vienna Government, which entered a solemn protest.

After the victorious ending of the war that broke out in 1914, among the results that were anticipated were the liberation of Czechoslovakia and Poland and the restoration to France of Alsace and Lorraine. The Czechs, who had been compulsorily mobilized in the Austrian armies, had never failed to show their reluctance to fight against Russia, France and their allies, and entire regiments surrendered. In Paris a tempo-

rary Czechoslovakian Government was established at the instance of Edward Benès, a man of great will and energy, and on Oct. 28, 1918, the independence of Czechoslovakia was proclaimed. There were already Czechs in the allied ranks, so that with the downfall of the Hapsburg Empire the Czech statesmen, Masaryk and Benès, and the National Council had already insured the financial, industrial and ag-



Map showing Czechoslovakia (the territory enclosed by the heavy line), the most central country of Europe, in relation to the neighboring States of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Rumania and Poland. Czechoslovakia was formerly known as Bohemia

ricultural prosperity necessary for the realization of independence, which was solemnly consecrated through the Treaties of Versailles, Saint Germain and Trianon.

Thus, in view of the numerous proofs of solidarity shown by the French and the Czechoslovakian peoples throughout history, it was only natural that the successful conclusion of the war should make a treaty of alliance possible and desirable. M. Benès, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, brought this out clearly when, on Feb. 6, 1924, he declared in Parliament: "Never has France's friendship and aid failed us during the four-year strife or since the armistice. None of the Allies has done more politically for the independence of Czechoslovakia than France."

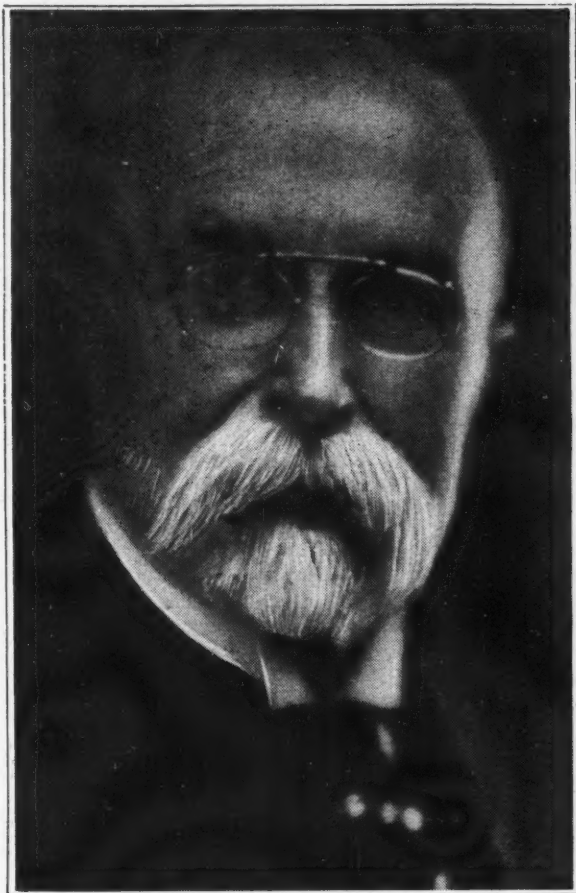
Treaties, even the most equitable, even those signed by several nations, cannot be upheld by their justice alone. They must also for a certain time be defended against attacks from aggressors who believe that their interest lies in destroying them. Czechoslovakia did not exist as an independent State before 1918. The Czech and Slav peoples were divided between the neighboring States, Austria and Hungary. In the course of history the German race had penetrated the Slav population to such an extent that on an ethnographic map Bohemia appears as a Slav nucleus attacked on all sides by German assailants. About one-fifth of the Czechoslovakian population is composed of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians. This mixed population will, for many years to come, be a great source of weakness, since it is only on its eastern side, where Czechoslovakia borders Poland and Rumania, that the country is free from fears of invasion. Moreover, Czechoslovakia has been obliged to create everything that is required to defend and administer a modern State. Although the army is well equipped and disciplined, it is still in its infancy as far as training and staff work are concerned.

Let us consider some striking figures. Germany, as reduced by the Peace Treaty, has a population of 60,000,000; France, 40,000,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,000,000; Austria, 6,000,000, and

Hungary, 7,000,000. In Germany, at every one of the frequent military and nationalist demonstrations, speakers, whose utterances are echoed by newspapers, are heard demanding the union of Austria with the Reich of Berlin. The Germans of Austria, at least most of them, prefer to organize their independent life. It is true that the union of Austria and Germany is one of the articles of the Pangermanist program, the influence of which has been seen in the elections of May 4. Hungary, the everlasting enemy of the Slavs, is ready to join Germany. If Europe thus allowed the Germans to realize their nationalist program, Czechoslovakia would find herself alone and submerged in the German populations and her independence would be most precarious.

DESIRE FOR PEACE

The Germans never miss any opportunity to declare in newspapers and at official meetings that they do not consider as definite the present status in Europe. It is only natural then that these States should unite to prevent the rebirth of a militarist Germany which would be a threat to them. The treaty between France and Czechoslovakia does not menace Germany as long as she desires peace and observes the existing treaties. Its only object is to bar the road of Pan-Germanism. The French and Czechoslovakian Republics are likewise essentially democratic and their policy is to found a peaceful European order upon existing treaties. The policy of the two men who govern Czechoslovakia is well known, since both President Masaryk and M. Benès declared clearly their democratic and pacific opinions before the war. The idea of an economic and political reconstruction of Europe has not ceased to mold their policy. The Little Entente was created because of this desire. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Serbia united in a league for the maintenance of the political results of the war, and now the Franco-Czechoslovakian alliance has been formed for the same purpose as the final link in a chain which shall hold together this new Europe that is still insecure. Such is the origin and



THOMAS G. MASARYK
President of the Czechoslovakian Republic

such are the chief motives of the convention of Jan. 25.

The first discussion of the treaty took place between President Masaryk and President Millerand during the former's visit to Paris, and the terms were definitely settled and the treaty signed by M. Benès and M. Poincaré. It is no innovation, but only clothes an already existing fact in legal forms. Nor does the treaty in any way modify the policy of either Czechoslovakia or France. M. Benès declared that he considered it as one of "the essential guaranties for our security and for peace in Central Europe." It deals with the following four main points, as summarized by M. Benès:

1. The treaty aims at political cooperation for peace based on a plan of economic reconstruction, a contribution to the tasks and duties of the League of Nations and a loyal execution of existing treaties.

2. The treaty provides for a policy of united effort on questions of common interest and, if necessary, and where these interests are in danger, the ways and means to safeguard them.

3. The treaty unites the two countries in regard to their Central European policies and the treaties and agreements signed previously by Czechoslovakia and other States, affecting particularly Austria and the question of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns.

4. The treaty establishes the principle of a court of arbitration between the two countries.

To the outside world the last item should prove most interesting. This innovation is very important, since it provides that in case of a dispute between France and Czechoslovakia a special court shall settle

the difficulty. This is the first time that by mutual agreement two countries have decided that any difference that may arise between them should be settled through arbitration.

The main object of the treaty was to confirm and to consolidate existing treaties. This is a reminder of Talleyrand's saying: "Si cela va sans dire, cela ira encore mieux en le disant" (if it goes without saying, it will go even better by saying it). At a time when, on all sides, in Great Britain, Germany, Italy and the neutral countries, statements are made that much has happened since the peace treaty of 1919, and when certain members of the British Labor Party, before they knew the re-

sponsibilities of power, favored a revision of treaties, it is well that other nations should proclaim that treaties are the basis of the territorial and political status of New Europe. Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain and the protocol of Geneva, signed on Oct. 3, 1922, specified that under no consideration whatsoever should Austria be allowed to unite with Germany. If such a union were tolerated, it would overthrow the existing equilibrium and greatly endanger Czechoslovakia and France and the peace of the world. The two parties to the treaty resolved to join in watching over the execution of these promises. The Hungarian Government agreed after the attempted restoration of Emperor Charles not to allow the Hapsburgs to ascend the throne again; in the same way the German Government agreed, when the ex-Crown Prince returned to Germany, not to tolerate the restoration of the Hohenzollerns. This has been agreed upon with all the Allies. As the promise was made to all European powers, France and Czechoslovakia, in speaking of the restoration of monarchy, are only upholding common law in Europe.

NOT A MILITARY PACT

This is all there is in the convention signed on Jan. 25, 1924. It contains neither a secret appendix nor a military pact. General defensive measures had been considered at the request of the Czechoslovakian Government before the treaty was ever thought of. Immediately after the armistice a French military mission, headed by General Pellé and afterward by General Mittelhauser, visited Czechoslovakia and



EDWARD BENES
Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia

helped to organize the new army and raise a special corps of officers, as these were totally lacking, owing to the fact that Czechs would not serve as officers in the Austro-Hungarian Army, nor were they admitted to the higher grades. Therefore there existed in Czechoslovakia neither a body of trained officers nor a military staff college. The French mission established a link between the two headquarters and it will continue its task until the Czechoslovakian Army has acquired what it lacks.

The convention of Jan. 25 has been submitted for approval to the League of Nations and has been registered. It is strictly in accordance with the code and it emphasizes the respect of treaties and

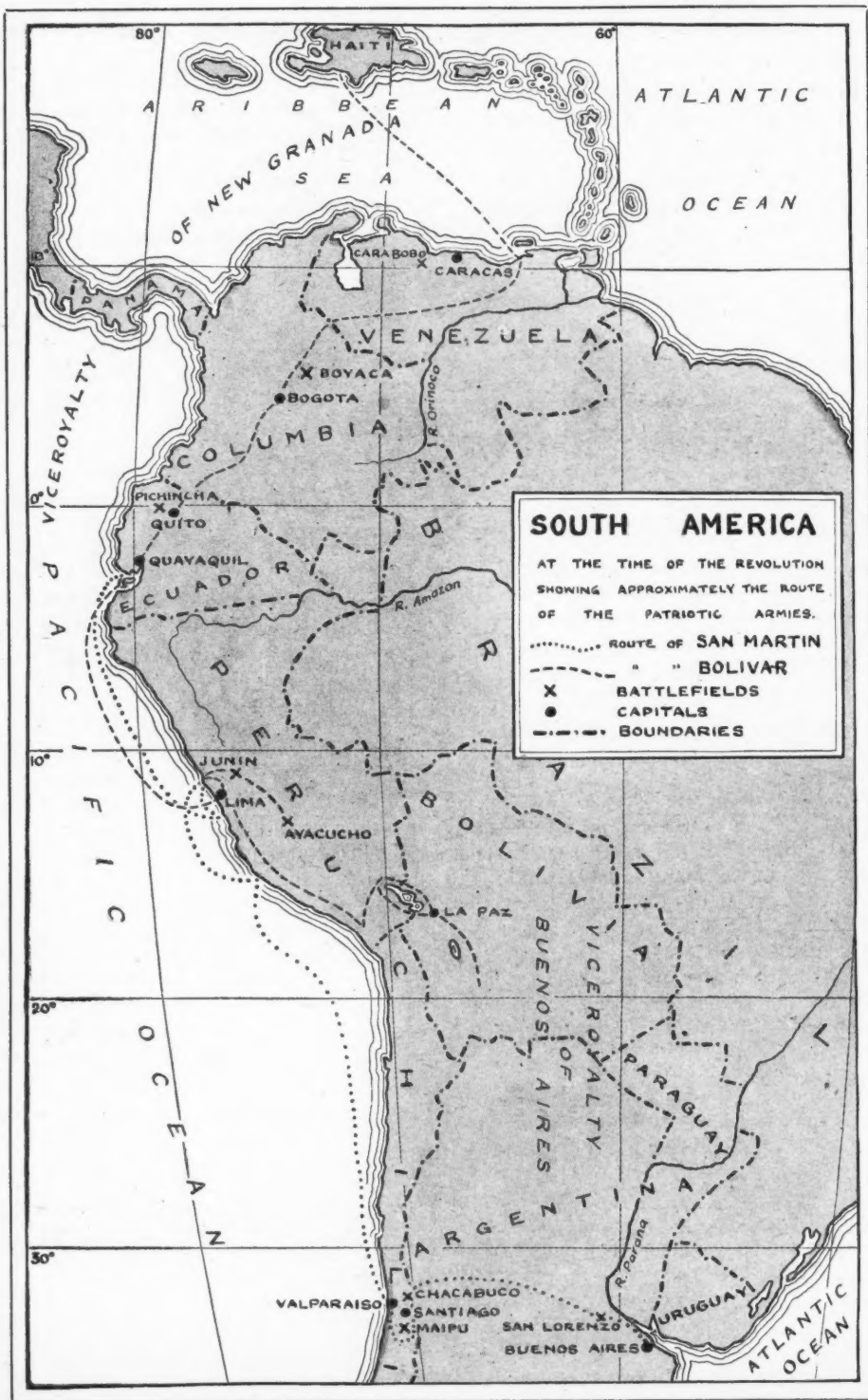
obligations of parties as defined in the first paragraph of the constitution of the League of Nations. An important feature of the Czechoslovakian treaty is that it is not limited to these two countries, but that it has opened the way for any other country that is imbued with the same ideals and that would participate in its peaceful and constructive aims. Since democracies demand open diplomacy, here it is and at its best.

The first news of the signing of the treaty was met with much criticism throughout Europe at the time preoccupied by the question of reparations. Great Britain, or at least part of its press, accused France of wanting to crush Germany. The Italians printed columns about the imminent domination of France over all the Danubian countries. Germany protested against so-called French oppression and plans of encirclement. To add to the effect of this accusation the Berliner Tageblatt published on March 19 eight documents which were asserted to be secret clauses of the treaty signed on Jan. 25. A superficial survey revealed the falsity of it all. One of these documents purported to contain the adhesion of Yugoslavia to the Franco-Czechoslovakian alliance. The purpose was to disturb Italy and rouse her against France. Even in Germany the Frankfurter Zeitung pointed out the apocryphal character of the documents. Better still, the Czechoslovakian Government discovered that they were the exact copy, apart from the date which had been changed, of entirely different authentic documents printed in the book of the well-known Professor Przibram. The

so-called treaty with Yugoslavia was a reproduction of the Austro-German protocol of Sept. 24, 1879. With the exception of the Berliner Tageblatt, the whole German press admitted the falsity of the documents. Nevertheless, these documents had been used for the purpose of bitter propaganda against France. Since then Italy, after accusing France of imperialism, has signed an agreement based on the same principles with Yugoslavia.

The French and Czechoslovakian Governments have worked together for reconstruction and pacification based on existing treaties. All European treaties have an identical character, and none has ever thought of contesting Germany's rightful place in Europe, that allotted to her by the various treaties. New conventions would be directed against her only in case she tried to escape the consequences of her aggression in 1914 and of her defeat in 1918. All the conventions are wholly and solely defensive and the military measures considered in each of them are only intended as a guarantee for the constructive work of the Governments. France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Yugoslavia and Rumania, in seeking alliances, have had no other aim than to safeguard both themselves and the world against the ever present danger of unprovoked aggression and invasion which so many countries and especially the United States have been spared. One must have suffered to understand their agonies. This treaty is part of a whole constituting a program of European peace, and is at the same time directly in line with the work of the League of Nations.





The Hundredth Anniversary of South American Independence

BY VICTOR ANDRES BELAUNDE.

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ON Aug. 6, 1924, the nations of South America begin the celebration of the first period of the centenary of their independence, won on Aug. 6, 1824, by the battle of Junin. This decisive victory was supplemented by the equally decisive triumph won by the revolutionary forces at Ayacucho on Dec. 9, 1824, with which date the second period of the centenary will be initiated. Both battles were fought in the altitudes of the Andes Mountains, territory of the one-time Viceroyalty of Peru and the last point of Spanish resistance to the victorious sweep of the revolution, and they effected the virtual annihilation of the Spanish armies and achieved freedom for the entire continent.

The real struggle began in 1809. Before this time some insurrections had occurred, but these were isolated events which, although proclaiming the existence of a revolutionary spirit in South America, had no continental significance whatsoever. The invasion of Spain by Napoleon was the occasion of which the Spanish-American colonies availed themselves for their disavowal of all recognition of the Central Government of the "Junta" of Seville and later of the Regency of Cadiz, and for their affirmation of the principle of regional sovereignty during the captivity and absence of the legitimate monarch from the Spanish throne. The "cabildos"—a transplantation to the American Continent of the medieval institution of Spanish municipalities—led the movement, assuming control of the Government and establishing councils similar to the Spanish "juntas." Though the insurrection was colored by the principle of

loyalty to the monarch, it was fundamentally based on the demand for popular sovereignty.

Two cities in the territory of the ancient Empire of the Incas and of the early Peruvian Viceroyalty were the first to revolt. La Paz, which had been annexed to the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires in the eighteenth century, declared its independence of Spanish rule on July 16, 1809; and Quito, placed under the Government of Santa Fé in 1739, followed suit on Aug. 10 of the same year. They both denied all peninsular authority over them and set up Governments of their own. In 1810, similar insurrections occurred rapidly in the capitals of almost all the colonial provinces—on April 19, the movement extended to Caracas; on May 25 to Buenos Aires; on July 4 to Bogotá and on Sept. 18 to Santiago de Chile.

The juntas, or councils established by the Cabildos, hastened to convoke assemblies representing all the cities and towns of each province, and in this manner were drawn the outlines of the future nationalities which were to base themselves on the former colonial régime. The Cabildos, becoming stronger in the assemblies, abandoned the idea of loyalty to the Spanish throne and took the logical step of proclaiming themselves absolutely independent. The Caracas Assembly was the first to take this step when, in 1811, it proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Venezuela. Two years later the State of Cundinamarca (in the central part of Colombia) made a like declaration, and in 1816 the Congress of Tucuman declared the absolute independence of the provinces of Rio de la Plata.

CABILDO INSURRECTION REPRESSED

In Peruvian territory, also, some insurrections took place. The City of Lima, however, remained the centre of Spanish power. Here it was that the loyal elements organized their resistance. Under the able command of the Viceroy Abascal, expeditions were dispatched to Quito, to Alto Peru, today Bolivia; to Buenos Aires and to Chile. Besides Lima, there were other lesser centres of loyalist resistance—in Venezuela, the City of Coro and the plains of the Orinoco; in the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé, the Provinces of Popayan and Pasto; in the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, the Port of Montevideo, and in Chile, the extreme south of that province with the City of Valdivia.

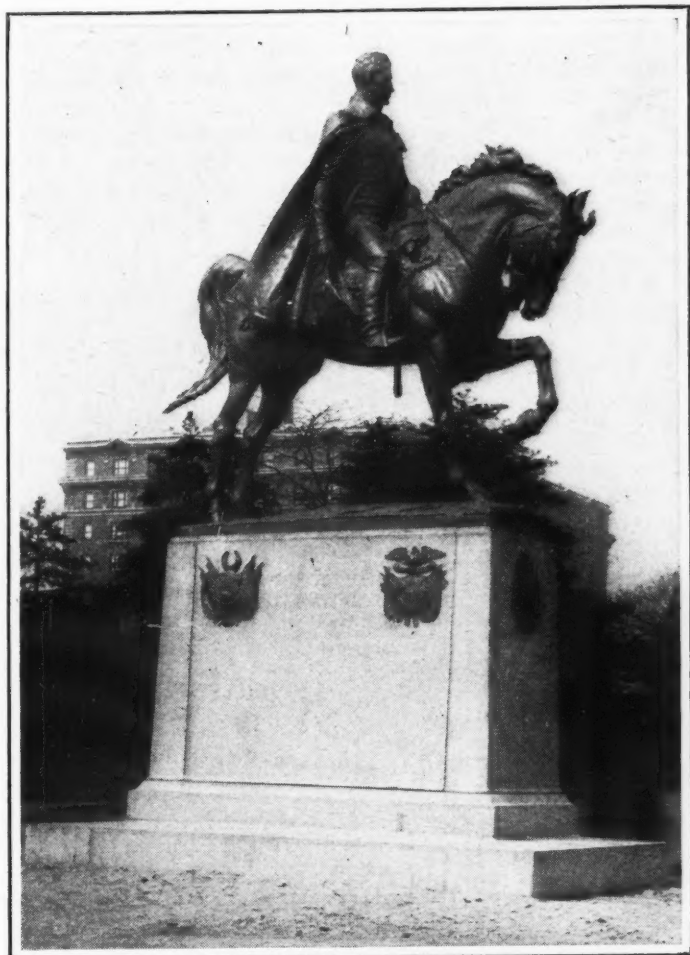
These royalist elements succeeded in suppressing the revolutionary movement. A victory at Guaqui, near Lake Titicaca, strengthened the Spanish power in Alto Peru and checked the course of the revolution in Buenos Aires. Another victory at Rancagua extinguished the patriotic movement in Chile; Peruvian troops restored the royal power in Quito; and the movement in Bogotá suffered a serious setback in the defeat of General Narino in Popayan. Monteverde, aided by an earthquake in Caracas, succeeded in overthrowing the Republic of Venezuela. In 1813 Bolivar invaded Venezuela from Santa Marta and in his masterly campaign of that year—compared so frequently to Napoleon's first campaign in Italy—he was able to restore the republic, but the reaction directed from the plains in 1814 under the leadership of the famous Bowes destroyed the second Venezuelan Republic, and with it all the elements of wealth and culture of that unfortunate region.

Thus, in the entire South American Continent there remained free from Spanish rule only the Provinces of Rio de la Plata, whose main centre of government lay in the hands of the Assembly of Buenos Aires; Paraguay, where the figure of Dr. Francia had already forged to the front; the territories of the Banda Oriental, today Uruguay, which

were controlled by the "Caudillo" (leader) Artigas, and in the north the Republic of Cundinamarca and Cartagena (Colombia). Over these narrow centres of the independence movement hung two grave dangers—one external, in the advance of the loyal troops from Alto Peru against Buenos Aires and from Popayan and Venezuela against Bogotá; the other internal, in the differences and rivalries between Cartagena and Cundinamarca and in the conflict between the Assembly of Buenos Aires and General Artigas and other local "caudillos."

There was not much left to do in the way of suppressing the rebellion when Spain, free now of the Napoleonic yoke, decided to send Morillo, with the largest expedition that had ever crossed the Atlantic, to finish the work begun by the Viceroy. Morillo captured Margarita Island, reduced Cartagena, which had seemed impregnable; led a most successful expedition into Colombia and took Bogotá. The year 1815 seemed to mark definitely the restoration of Spanish dominion in America. Only the provinces of Rio de la Plata had managed to preserve their independence, and even they found themselves in great danger after a new defeat of the patriots in Alto Peru. This year not only marked the restoration of the royalists, but also the restoration of absolutism. During the conflict the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812 had been proclaimed in South America and many had begun to entertain hopes of a reconciliation. In 1815, however, this Constitution was abrogated, and the return of the régime of absolutism was proclaimed.

In a general observation of this period of struggle, we cannot fail to notice various outstanding features. The war of independence was a civil war, the cause of the King having its principal supporters in the Creoles and natives of Peru and of Pasto and in the plainsmen of Venezuela. Another feature was the predominance of ultra-radical and federal ideas among the directive elements. The direction of operations was more in the hands of the Assemblies than under great personalities of "caudillos." There was no unity of thought, no



Statue of Simon Bolivar in Central Park, New York City

unity of action; there was, on the other hand, an excess of political speculation; the Assemblies and the Congresses had proved their incompetence to organize military action and to lay the foundations of sound government.

After the failure of the insurrection of the Cabildos, Spain was in the best of condition for maintaining her supremacy in America. England, which had favored South American independence years before, had altered her attitude, and after the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons was inclined solely to mediation between the mother country and the colonies, thus acquiring various conces-

sions, such as free trade, both for herself and for the colonies. France had to uphold Spain in the preservation of her colonies, and the Holy Alliance intended to follow the same policy. The United States, interested in the acquisition of Florida, observed a policy of neutrality in the war of independence. The outlook for South American independence could not have been more depressing.

BOLIVAR AND SAN MARTIN

The setbacks in internal affairs and international isolation, however, did not dishearten the patriots. The war of independence was to develop a

new phase—a creative and heroic phase. Instead of the theories and incoherent activity of the Cabildos, or municipalities, a new creative force appeared—the national hero, the caudillo.

In the south the figure of a military genius, in whom were united natural ability and the advantages of a European education, began to come to the front. This leader was José de San Martín, who had served in the Spanish Army, had fought against the French at Bailen, and had revealed his strategic abilities in the triumph of San Lorenzo in 1814. In the north the campaign of 1813 brought out the figure of Simon Bolívar. Through the efforts of these

two great personalities South American independence was achieved. Their task was beset with the greatest difficulties; these leaders had to create their own armies and make their plans in the face of general incomprehension, oftentimes against the views of the lingering pseudo-democratic spirits of the old Councils and Assemblies. It may be said, therefore, that the struggle for independence in this new phase was chiefly a matter of individual endeavor.

After the downfall of the second Venezuelan Republic, in the year 1814, Bolívar repaired to Haiti, whence, two years later, he directed another expedition, but without success. Still another campaign failed in the year 1817, when he attempted to take Caracas. The following year, tutored by the difficulties encountered in his direct campaign against the centre of Spanish power in Caracas, he changed his tactics and determined to strengthen his position in the Guayana and the Orinoco Rivers. Here the Spanish troops could penetrate only with extreme difficulty, and this region was consequently chosen as a base for the operations of the revolutionary army. This was the country of the plainsmen, early supporters of the King's cause, whose leader, Paez, after his conversion to the cause of independence, furnished Bolívar with a most efficacious ally.

The year 1819 marks the campaign of Apure. Bolívar at this time conceived the ingenious project of moving his army suddenly from the plains over the Andes into the territory of New Granada, reversing thus the passage effected in 1813. Surmounting extraordinary obstacles, the revolutionary army accomplished the arduous and perilous feat; the Spanish forces were taken by surprise, and in the battle at the Boyaca Bridge were almost annihilated. The road to the capital of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé was open, and without a moment's pause for rest Bolívar started to assume control of the whole vast territory. He accepted the adjustment of the war proposed by Morillo, but when the pact was broken he returned to Venezuela, where, by the battle of Cara-

bobo, he determined the independence of his fatherland.

At the same time that he was destroying the power of Spain in the northern part of the continent, Bolívar was planning the political organization of the countries liberated. His ideal was the formation of a great nationality by joining the Captainty General of Venezuela and the territory of New Granada. At the congress held at Augustura, now Ciudad Bolívar [City of Bolívar], he set forth his brilliant ideas for the future of South America and advocated institutions which would conform to the racial and territorial conditions of the continent—a strong and lasting executive power and a hereditary Senate—ideas which were the very antithesis of the Jacobin and federalist ideas of the insurrection under the "cabildos." After liberating New Granada he convoked the Congress of Cucuta, which approved the union of New Granada and Venezuela in a single State called Colombia. The Congress decided that the Presidency was not a life office, but was to last ten years, and that the Senate was to be elected for life, but was not to be hereditary. The genius of Bolívar thus founded a great nationality—Colombia.

In the south conditions for the struggle for independence were more favorable than in the north; there was, at least, an important centre of operations, composed of the greater part of the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. The extension of the independence movement had been arrested by the defeats of the patriotic army in Alto Peru. Southern liberty could be achieved only through the destruction of the centres of Spanish power in Alto Peru to the north and Chile to the west. If the patriotic forces had not taken the offensive the Spaniards would have done so, and the Province of Rio de la Plata would certainly have been invaded. In what manner was the Spanish power to be destroyed? By a repetition of the unsuccessful expeditions into Alto Peru (Bolivia), in the hope of afterward descending upon Peru proper, or by sending an army westward over the Andes Mountains to get control of Chile and then to direct

the offensive against Lima from Chile as base of operations?

SAN MARTIN'S CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH

San Martin, given command of an expedition against Alto Peru, realized the impossibility of the first plan and with remarkable foresight resigned his post and accepted the modest Governorship of the Province of Cuyo, on the slopes of the Andes and hence not a great distance from the capital of Chile. In this secluded region he secretly raised an army, supervising personally each and every detail of its preparation. When all was ready, in 1817, he crossed the lofty cordillera without the loss of either troops or artillery. Descending the mountainside, he defeated at Chacabuco the army which the Spaniards had hastily sent against him and entered Santiago. As he considered that his mission was more military than political, he accepted the selection of O'Higgins as director of Chile, retaining for himself only the command of the army. Very soon, however, the Spanish forces gathered for another battle, but in the battle of Maipu, April 5, 1818, San Martin won an overwhelming victory and thus completed the first part of his plan.

He still had before him the expedition into Peru, a step which demanded the control of the sea and additional economic resources. The sea question was soon disposed of, for out of the Chilean national marine the genius of Lord Cochrane created a fleet which lost no time in destroying the Spanish dominion of the Pacific. The economic problem, however, proved much more difficult. The Government of Buenos Aires, which alone could be expected to provide what was needed, was facing the disastrous effects of civil war and was greatly alarmed by the preparation in Spain of an expedition against Rio de la Plata even more powerful than that sent to Venezuela under Morillo. San Martin recrossed the Andes, but, instead of obeying the peremptory orders of the Government of Buenos Aires to hasten thither and suppress the uprising that was gradually spreading

throughout the whole region, he decided to rejoin the troops he had left on the other side of the Andes and lead the expedition into Peru. The necessary preparations had been made by Chile, and on Aug. 20, 1820, he set out with the armies of Chile and his own army of the Andes. The expedition disembarked at Pisco, and then at Huacho, just north of Lima. In a comparatively short time the activities of the liberating army and the patriotic command of the Pacific made themselves felt. Guayaquil, in what is now Ecuador, proclaimed its independence, and the northern coast of Peru declared itself on the side of the patriots. The position of the Spaniards in Lima thus became quite untenable.

At this juncture, San Martin conceived the idea of obtaining the independence of the several peoples through a peaceful agreement with the Spanish authorities, on the basis of the establishment of a monarchy in Peru under one of the members of the royal family of Spain. After rejecting this proposal, the Spaniards saw the advisability of evacuating Lima and Callao and of gaining the highlands, or mountainous regions of Peru, which had ample food supplies and sufficient population for the organization of able resistance. This they did, and San Martin's attempt to secure a peaceful agreement thus met with complete failure. To the error of giving the Spanish forces an open road to the highlands San Martin added that of failing to pursue them immediately. This condition was greatly aggravated through the repulses suffered by the expeditions in the intermediate territory, or the southeastern section of Peru proper.

The occupation of Lima by the liberating army and the fact that the patriots now had control of the sea did not signify the destruction of Spanish resistance. The topography of the country made this impossible at the time, and in the mountains the Spanish captains were able to maintain an army of approximately 18,000 men. San Martin did not follow the same method of procedure in Peru that he had employed in Chile; he assumed control of the politi-

cal Government with the title of Protector and began to lay the foundations for the organization of a new nationality. He had at least assured the liberty of Rio de la Plata and of Chile and had opened the way to the independence of Peru.

JUNCTION OF TWO GREAT LEADERS

Just at this time the liberating current led by Bolívar was approaching Peruvian territory. This great genius had yet to realize the liberty of Quito or, in other words, the southern section of the Viceroyalty of New Granada. The Port of Guayaquil, which had already declared its independence, offered an excellent base for the revolutionary operations. Bolívar resolved to dispatch one expedition against Quito under the command of Sucre and to direct personally another expedition by land against the famous region of Pasto, which was still a most powerful centre of Spanish resistance. Bolívar achieved a signal victory at Bomboñá and Sucre triumphed at Pichincha with the support of a division of the army of San Martín. Thus in the battle of Pichincha the northern and southern liberating currents were fused into one and soldiers of almost all the different regions of the South American Continent fought side by side for a single cause.

Owing to the advantageous position held by the Spanish forces and the numerous resources on which they could draw, San Martín realized that the achievement of independence demanded such a union of the two currents. Consequently, he journeyed to Guayaquil to confer with Simón Bolívar. Of this historic interview, so widely commended by partisans and admirers of these two great heroes of Spanish American liberty, only the results can here be treated. San Martín decided to abandon Peru, leaving the Government in the hands of the Assembly which he had convoked. The most critical epoch of the struggle had arrived and the army formed by San Martín, made up of Argentinians, Chileans and Peruvians, had lost its Commander-in-Chief. Peruvian nationality in the midst of the rivalry of the various factions had not been

able to find its real leader. The failure of the military operations, combined with the prevailing political anarchy, seemed on the point of re-establishing Spanish domination of Peru. Part of the plan of operations left by San Martín—a joint attack on the highlands occupied by the Spaniards, in the north in the district of Junín and in the south near Arica—was tried out on two different occasions in the southern region, where it met with complete failure.

At this critical moment, after having sent the troops offered in the conference at Guayaquil, Bolívar yielded to the insistent invitations to move into Peruvian territory with the bulk of his army. He was received as the real leader and hero of America by the soldiers of Argentina, Peru, Chile and Colombia. From this time on he was not only the commander of the Colombian Army, but Commander-in-Chief of all the patriotic armies of the continent, and, since it was considered necessary to unite the military with the political control, the Peruvian Congress invested him with dictatorial powers. The situation was filled with danger, for the failures of the expeditions in the southern highlands had greatly encouraged the Spaniards. Bolívar, however, displayed all his remarkable political tact and his superiority as a military organizer. He concentrated his forces at Pativilca, just north of Lima, and, realizing the difficulty involved in the dislodgement of the Spanish Army from its almost impregnable position in the Sierras, he sought the support of Colombia, demanding fresh troops and the raising of new armies.

It was at this time that a most lamentable incident occurred by which Bolívar was placed in a position even more precarious than had been that of San Martín. The garrison of Callao revolted and the Spanish prisoners there took advantage of this event to restore the fort to the royal forces, who then occupied Lima. Through this occurrence the united army of Argentina and Chile was lost, so that Bolívar could count solely on the 4,000 troops of the division of Colombians and on the army of Peru, which was calculated at about the same figure. Chile refused to supply fresh

troops. With the loss of Callao, command of the Pacific was also at an end. Quick action was demanded. Despite the conditions of the country and the illness which had beset him, Bolívar reorganized his army and prepared a daring plan, quite different from the one evolved by San Martín. Instead of dividing his army into two parts, northern and southern, he resolved to hold it together and penetrate the Sierras in the region north of Lima. This plan was greatly facilitated by a miniature civil war which broke out among the royalist leaders. General Olaneta, commander of the Spanish troops in Alto Peru, refused to subordinate himself to the Viceroy Laserna, who was thereupon obliged to send a division against the rebellious chief, in this manner weakening the Spaniards in the central highlands under Canterac.

Bolívar executed his plan with mathematical precision. He ascended the Peruvian Cordillera at its most rugged point and inspected his army in the highlands of Pasco. He had 7,700 men with which to combat the Spanish leader Canterac, who counted on 8,000 infantry and 1,300 horses. Bolívar's men realized that they were about to engage in the decisive battles of the struggle for independence. With fiery eloquence he thus addressed them:

"You are about to perform the greatest work that Providence has ever placed in the hands of men, the saving of an entire world from slavery. Peru and all America look forward to the peace which is to be the fruit of the victory, and even Europe watches you in fascination, for the liberty of a new world is the hope of the universe."

THE HISTORIC BATTLE OF JUNIN

Bolívar marched his forces toward Yauja, skirting the shores of the lake called the Lake of "Los Reyes" (the Kings), while the Spanish Army marched on the other side of the lake in the opposite direction. Learning of the movements of Bolívar and fearing that his line of communication might become cut off, Canterac ordered a countermarch and arrived at the end of the lake on the

plains of Junín. Here he was met by the patriotic forces, and the cavalries of the two armies were soon engaged in an epic struggle. The victory seemed to be deciding itself in favor of the Spaniards, for the patriotic troops were fleeing in virtual panic, when the famous squadron called the "Peruvian Hussars," that had been held in reserve, charged the rear guard of the seeming victors. The battle, fought with sword alone, lasted less than an hour, in which not a single shot was fired. According to official reports, the losses of the Spaniards amounted to 2 officers and 245 men killed and 80 prisoners, while the patriots reported 45 killed and 99 wounded. The results of this famous battle, however, cannot be judged from the figures just given. The victory of the patriots had the following far-reaching consequences: It destroyed the morale of the enemy, which, during the two years preceding, had experienced nothing but triumphs, and it produced the evacuation of the central highlands of Peru, which were immediately occupied by the patriots.

After the Battle of Junín, the army of liberty continued its triumphal march to Huamanga, or Ayacucho, where Bolívar left it, upon returning to Lima, in charge of General Sucre, with instructions to keep it concentrated and to avoid any decisive encounters. The army under Sucre was to attempt to approach Cuzco, the last centre of royalist operations. The final battle was yet to be fought—the battle of Ayacucho, whose centenary is to be celebrated in December, 1924. This further victory marks the beginning of the independence of all South America.

Such are the historic and inspiring memories evoked by the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of South American independence on Aug. 6—memories of which every patriotic South American may justly be proud—a pride based on the nation's history and one with which the United States, which has its own glorious memories, is bound to sympathize.

Ludendorff—Leader of German “Revenge”

By LEONARD SPRAY

American newspaper correspondent in Berlin

AMERICA can go to the devil!” Such, only somewhat more energetically expressed, was the blunt and far from Chesterfieldian message sent by General Erich von Ludendorff soon after the armistice to an American newspaper man in reply to a request for an interview. It may be admitted that the moment for such a request was not particularly well chosen. Germany was still reeling under the knock-out blow inflicted by the allied and American soldiers and German hearts were filled with bitterness, rage and humiliation. But no German heart was more filled with those emotions than that of General Ludendorff. Discredited, deposed and virtually in hiding from his fellow-countrymen, he had fallen from a height of power such as no man had ever before reached in the history of the world. A few weeks earlier he had been the master of Germany, with might far greater than was ever wielded by the Emperor whom he served. Millions of soldiers, from Flanders to the Caucasus, from Riga to Mesopotamia, moved at his command. Members of the Government were his nominees. He controlled public opinion. All civilians, women and men, were obedient to his will.

In the later stages of the World War, Ludendorff was a demi-god, the chosen leader to victory and conquest, worshiped with blind faith by a nation of 60,000,000 people, the favorite of the Emperor whose dream he had promised to realize. The dream was shattered. The instrument of its intended realization was broken in the shattering. He who was once a demi-god became a scapegoat. For months the name of Ludendorff was mentioned only as a

subject of execration or remorse. During many subsequent months it was never mentioned at all.

But later there came a change almost as dramatic as that which had preceded it. Ludendorff raised his stricken head in defiance and challenge. Ludendorff wrote books, all seeking to prove that he had been and still was right. Ludendorff made speeches, denouncing Socialists, Jews and “Marxists.” Ludendorff unveiled war memorials and talked about wars—about the next war as well as the last one. Ludendorff appeared in the streets of Munich at the head of a rebel army, saw the rebels turned into a rabble and was himself arrested and tried as a traitor. Finally, Ludendorff became a candidate for the Reichstag and was elected. The result of these activities and new successes was inevitable. Ludendorff has become again a hero to millions of Germans. Once more he is being looked to as the savior of the Fatherland. Once more the German people is asked to entrust its destinies to the man who, more than any other single individual, has already held its fate within the hollow of his hand.

CHARACTER EXPLAINED BY CAREER

What is the character, what the career, of the man who was once the dictator of a nation, and who, if he succeeds in imposing his implacable will, may once again assume that rôle, remote as that possibility may now appear?

The answer to the first question is not easy. Ludendorff was by far the most remarkable of the Generals whom the war brought into prominence on the side of the Central Powers. Though Hindenburg was his nominal chief, it

was Ludendorff who was the military brain of the combination. It was he who thought out the strategic plans to which the personality of the old Field Marshal gave the driving power. And yet everything Ludendorff has said or done since the war contradicts the strategic evidence that the war afforded of a great personality. Politically he has shown himself a child. His speeches are infantile in their elementary appeals to the spirit of revenge, to stupid prejudices and to invincible ignorance. His association with such puerile conspiracies as the Kapp and Hitler "Putsches" betrays a complete innocence of the simplest principles of political warfare and a total inability to assess the mentalities of others.

One clue to Ludendorff's partial success as a General and his complete failure as a politician is to be found in the circumstances of his youth and training. Born in a farmhouse in the Province of Posen, Erich von Ludendorff was destined for a military career. He swallowed a Prussian ramrod almost with his mother's milk. Prussianism, interpreted as absolute reliance on discipline, force and the supremacy of might, became his gospel. To its study and development he devoted the whole of his intelligence, his immense capacity for work and his typically Prussian quality of concentrating on a single object. Lest his character should be softened, he never, as he once boasted, read a line of poetry or listened to a note of any but martial music.

At 17 Ludendorff was a Lieutenant in the Fifty-seventh Infantry, after four years' cadet training at Plön, near Kiel. Later he was assigned to the War Academy at Berlin—an honor reserved for subalterns distinguishing themselves in line and garrison duty. At 30 he was a Captain in the General Staff and did important work in the Operations Department, which concerned itself with theoretical plans of campaign for the German Army in every conceivable field of war throughout the world. He specialized in the problems of supply and transport, and in the late '90s became Chief of the Operations Department under that brilliant tactician, Count von



Gilliams

General von Ludendorff arriving at the Berlin Cathedral for the formal inauguration of the recently elected German Reichstag, of which he is a member

Schlieffen, who was Chief of the German General Staff until ousted by the Kaiser to the advantage of his favorite, von Moltke.

The outbreak of the World War found Ludendorff an infantry brigade commander at Strassburg. His brigade was almost the first one in the German Army to go into action, for it carried out the attack on Liège in August, 1914. The operation met with a severe check, but by Ludendorff's personal intervention failure was turned into success when he broke through into the town before waiting until all the forts had been subdued. For this action Ludendorff was awarded the first Order of

Merit bestowed by the Supreme War Lord, and from that moment he was a marked man.

Soon afterward the Russian advance into East Prussia compelled the German High Command to take more seriously than they had hitherto done the operations on the eastern front. They sent Ludendorff, as Chief of Staff to Hindenburg to that area, prompted to the appointment not so much on account of his exploit at Liège as because they wanted him to apply the lessons he had learned in the Operations Department at Berlin. Their calculations worked out successfully. The Russian armies were smashed at Tannenburg and the Masurian Lakes, and later were held in check in Poland and Galicia. Though Hindenburg signed the plans, it was Ludendorff who drafted them and laid them before his nominal chief. So, too, the subsequent destruction of the Serbs, the still later conquest of Rumania and the final campaigns which broke the Russian armies were credited, strategically at any rate, to Ludendorff. Hindenburg, of whom it was said that he walled out of a Hanover beer house, strode into East Prussia and slaughtered 100,000 Russians, became a national hero, but it was his Chief of Staff who won the appreciation of professional soldiers.

In the meantime, Germany's triumphs on the east were counter-balanced by defeats on the western front. The British offensive on the Somme had inflicted great damage on the German armies, and it was clear that Falkenhayn's tremendous and costly assault on Verdun had failed. Something had to be done to restore German prestige and to re-establish the military situation. Again the High Command turned to Hindenburg and Ludendorff. Falkenhayn fell because Verdun stood. His place was taken by Hindenburg as Chief of the Great General Staff, with Ludendorff as First Quartermaster General.

FULL CONTROL IN WORLD WAR

From that moment Ludendorff took complete military and political command of the conduct of the World War, so far as the Central European alliance

was concerned. Militarily, he conceived and carried out an immensely bold and effective plan. Having sent Mackensen to overrun Rumania, he devoted the remaining months of 1916 to consolidating the western front, with the intention of remaining on the defensive there while preparing to eliminate Russia on the east. The German armies fell back on a powerful defensive line, thus balking the Allies' plans for a "break-through" offensive in the following Spring. Throughout the whole of the year Ludendorff held them at bay by the principles he had applied on the eastern front. These were mainly embodied in the art, developed on a great scale, of manoeuvring with railways. He kept his finger on the pulse of the western front and resisted the allied pressure, whenever it made itself felt, with just sufficient troops for the momentary purpose. These troops were drawn as needed from the German armies in Russia, which thus became a sort of reservoir for the armies in the west. In the meantime, a combination of military tactics and political intrigue disintegrated Russia and led to the final collapse and revolution.

Politically, too, Ludendorff was equally active during this period. He was now out for victory at all costs. Belgium was the test of whether it was agreement or conquest that Germany really wanted. The Supreme Command, with Ludendorff as its exponent, demanded far-reaching guarantees and, particularly, control of the coast of Flanders. On these and other questions there was conflict between the war lords and the politicians. The former were pressing, too, for an unrestricted submarine campaign. Bethmann Hollweg, the Chancellor, foresaw as the inevitable consequence of that campaign that the United States would join the ranks of Germany's enemies. He resisted at first, and when he submitted it was with the reluctant words: "But if the military authorities regard the U-boat campaign as necessary, I am not in a position to oppose them."

Ludendorff was furious and by himself offering to resign compelled the resignation of Bethmann Hollweg. At

Ludendorff's instigation, Hindenburg telegraphed to the Kaiser protesting against the proposed Reichstag resolution demanding "peace without annexations or indemnities." A resolution was passed, but a resolution of meaningless phraseology. By a similar manoeuvre to that which he had used against the Chancellor, Ludendorff drove von Kuhlmann from the office of Foreign Secretary because he used a sentence that suggested the war could not be decided by the sword alone. This, however, was only a culminating offense, for Ludendorff had pursued a vendetta against that unhappy statesman ever since he had pleaded for a relinquishment of all claims on Belgian territory at a conference called by the Kaiser for the discussion of Germany's war aims.

Now came the stage when Ludendorff was hailed and heralded, confirmed and established, as the "organizer of victory." Like Napoleon in an earlier epoch, Ludendorff imposed his will on everybody in his own country and prepared to impose it also on the rest of the world. He bullied the Reichstag into passing a measure of civilian conscription by which every man and woman between the ages of 16 and 60 was placed, directly or indirectly, in the service of Mars. Not a wheel in Germany was allowed to turn without his permission. When there were strikes in Berlin he dictated a letter to the Government in which he represented the trade unions as powerless and ordered that the strikers' leaders be sent to the front—an order that reacted later when those same leaders spread disaffection among the troops in the field.

PANIC-STRICKEN AFTER FAILURE

Then, as a last stroke, Ludendorff "guaranteed victory." The war was to be ended by a final gigantic offensive against the Allies on the Western front. The Government was assured that victory would be achieved before the help of America could turn the tide in the Allies' favor. On a single card were to be staked Germany's gains in three and a half years of war, and, indeed, the

whole existence of the Fatherland. It was now a case of "Ludendorff ueber Alles." He imposed his views on the German Government and on the German command. He sent armies everywhere. He organized new expeditions to Finland and the Baltic. He mobilized men and accumulated munitions. No cost in blood was too terrible to be paid. There must be ruthless disregard of everything except "victory"—a victory that would make Germany the ruler of the world.

The great campaign was opened in March, 1918. History has recorded its brilliant beginning and its ignominious end. Ludendorff had made masterly dispositions and ordained the capture of objective points the allied loss of which might indeed have brought about the separation of the allied armies and ultimately led to the British troops being battered on the beaches of the Channel. But Ludendorff's divisions reached neither Amiens nor Compiègne nor Châlons. While they were planting the German flags in the captured British front lines Foch was creating his reserve armies in the woods of Compiègne and Villers-Cotterêts. Though Ludendorff hurled division after division into the devouring furnace, his attack became more and more cramped. He punished ruthlessly when his plans were not carried out; he intervened personally in local tactics, but all was in vain; the tide turned; the American divisions struck their hammer blows and the German front was shaken from Switzerland to the sea.

Stricken with panic, Ludendorff urged the opening of negotiations. German policy, surprised in a night, was reversed. Ludendorff tried to revoke the decision. But it was no longer possible to stop the ball rolling toward the inevitable surrender. And it was Ludendorff who had set it rolling.

Ludendorff's failure was innate in both the man himself and the system he incorporated and directed, the system of the Prussian General Staff. Stubborn and resolute, he was full of faith in success and always strong as long as his faith remained strong. By the defects of those very qualities he underrated the

powers of resistance and recovery of the allied armies and he underrated equally the power of America to send troops to France in time and the quality of the American troops when they did arrive.

Shortly before his last great effort to break through in July he openly stated his belief that Foch's reserves were exhausted, that the British armies were able to fight in trenches because they were lavishly supplied with artillery and munitions, but that they would be no good in open warfare; that the Americans, with such a small professional army, would not be able to train their new levies for battle in time to intervene effectively. He went so far, in fact, as to say that for this reason the Americans did not count and that a German triumph was certain. Of the spirit and methods of the new democratic armies Ludendorff had not the slightest understanding. Filled with the conceit and self-sufficiency of the caste in which he had been nurtured and of the school in which he had been trained, he never realized that he, with all he represented, was being overtaken by a new spirit in organization, in political economy and in moral factors. He displayed the professional soldier's skepticism as to the efficacy of any methods not his own; he had something approaching contempt for armies not trained on the rigid lines of the Prussian system.

All this does not imply that Ludendorff's brains and strategy were not worthy of the recognition they have received, even though the brains were out-matched and the strategy defeated. His qualities have been well analyzed by one of his former enemies in the field, General Baut, who in 1920 was appointed Chief of the General Staff in the peace organization of the French Army. Of Ludendorff's abilities General Baut said:

His actions on the Russian front bear the stamp of the best doctrine on war—a heavy frontal attack, with the object of attracting the enemy's reserves, then an enveloping attack on the weak point. This method was always possible in Russia, because the country was lacking in rail and road communications. Ludendorff also excelled in the strategy of internal lines and understood that Germany was a besieged citadel, forced to make sorties, such as the attacks in Russia, Macedonia, Italy and France, as well as fruitless at-

tempts to break the ring by the Battle of Jutland and by the submarine warfare.

Ludendorff failed in the west, General Baut believed, because he was never able to launch all his armies together upon the whole front and was forced to limit his efforts to successive offensives sufficiently apart in time to allow the allied divisions time to recuperate in order to meet the next assault.

CAMPAIGN OF SELF-JUSTIFICATION

However that may be, Ludendorff failed and paid the penalty for his failure. For a time he remained quiescent, but not for long. Returning to Germany from Sweden, to which country he had silently departed after the collapse, Ludendorff began a campaign designed to justify his conduct and policy in the disastrous days of August, 1914, and to show that the German Armies had never been defeated in the field, but had been "stabbed in the back" by the politicians and revolutionaries; that it was the "home front" that had collapsed, as the result of enemy propaganda and the failure of the politicians to counter it and to give the necessary support to the army leaders. To this campaign Ludendorff devoted thousands of written and tens of thousands of spoken words.

But the fact remains that it was Ludendorff who, after the British triumph in breaking through the Hindenburg Line, and after the surrender of Bulgaria, lost his nerve and urged the opening of negotiations. In his own words:

I became convinced that henceforth there would be wanting the sure foundation upon which, so far as it is possible in war, I had hitherto been able to build up the dispositions of the Supreme Command. In these circumstances the conduct of the war assumed the character of a gamble, and this I had always held to be pernicious. In my eyes the destiny of the German people was too high a stake to hazard in a game of chance. The war would have to be ended. I felt incumbent upon me the heavy responsibility of hastening the end of the war and of promoting decisive action on the part of the Government.

Ludendorff, it is true, later changed his mind about the military situation. But the evidence of the documents published in the course of the controversy shows that when he tried to promote "decisive action on the part of the Gov-



Keystone

Admiral von Tirpitz leaving the building of the German Reichstag, of which he is now a member

ernment," with a view to ending the war, he did so because he feared imminent disaster. In a report drawn up for Main Headquarters on the events in the Autumn of 1918 Colonel von Harften, representing the Supreme Command in Berlin, thus records a telephone conversation with Ludendorff:

He begged me to do everything possible in Berlin to move the Government to swift and energetic action. He insisted that every day of delay and inaction might have vital consequences. He asked me to use my influence with Secretary of State von Hintze, to make him initiate peace overtures.

That was at the end of September. In the following month military developments turned out to be rather more hopeful than Ludendorff had anticipated, and, failing entirely to appreciate the psychological effects of the "swift and energetic" peace overtures he himself had urged, he tried to reverse that policy. He professed certainty that he could get the bulk of his armies back to the line of the Meuse and by holding out longer obtain more favorable peace terms.

In the meantime, however, President Wilson's third note had arrived, demanding what amounted more or less to an unconditional surrender. At Ludendorff's instigation Hindenburg issued an Order to the Armies in the Field, characterizing the President's note as something to which Germany could not deign to reply. This was a challenge to the authority of the German Government; the Government took it up and made constitutional changes by which the military leadership was subordinated to the control of the Reichstag or, at least, of the civil Government.

Ludendorff resigned. He wanted "peace with honor." What he really wanted now was a fight to the bitter end. But Hindenburg and the other members of the German General Staff no longer submitted to his will. They knew how bitter that end would be. They knew that when the armistice was granted the formidable army which on July 15, 1918, had more than eighty reserve divisions had been so battered by the repeated blows of the Allies that it had only fifteen divisions behind the front, only two of which were in a fit condition to enter the lines at once. They knew that the Allies at that time had over a hundred divisions. They knew that nothing could have stopped the prepared Franco-American attack of thirty divisions, with a similar number waiting to follow it up. They knew that the German divisions, still 160 strong though greatly weakened, would have been forced to retreat with the Allies' sword about their sides and with their southern flank enveloped.

Ludendorff also must have known these things, yet he has persisted in his contention that the German armies were invincible, and that if Germany had followed his advice to fight to the bitter end it would never have had to submit to the Treaty of Versailles. Some time ago a German officer of high rank in close touch with the Supreme Command published anonymously a study of Ludendorff, in which he said:

He was one of those who cannot harbor a doubt that does not devour them. When they are in danger, they strike out wildly and shout "Victory!" When Ludendorff became Commander-in-Chief he must have had an uncanny feeling that we could not win the war. Nor was the real reason concealed from him, as is shown by the words that sound so strange in his book, "We spread over the world without standing firmly in Europe." As he did not possess the strength to give in or to liquidate the war, he persuaded himself and his people that victory would come in the end. But his despairing efforts remained futile and only made him blind. * * * The task, to which he was not equal, oppressed him and crushed his mind and character.

LEADS MONARCHIST REACTION TODAY

Ludendorff is still persuading himself and trying to persuade the German Nation that "victory" will come in the end, and come by the same means. Twice already has he associated himself with movements designed to overthrow the republic and restore the monarchy. Though he subsequently disowned connivance in the ridiculous Kapp Putsch of March, 1920, he was standing by the Brandenburger Tor—the gateway to Berlin's governmental district—when the mutinous Baltic troops marched into the city. And in the more recent and still more futile "beerhouse rebellion" at Munich, Ludendorff joined Hitler in proclaiming a "national" Government and announced: "I undertake the leadership of the German National Army, whose task is to hoist the old imperial flag and achieve new victories."

In the trial for complicity in high treason which followed the defeat of the rebels, Ludendorff revealed a mentality wholly consistent with his temperament and his past, but almost pathetic in its revelation of his political incapacity. Addressing the Judges, he was the embodiment of Prussian militarism and reaction. He had nothing to

recant in word or deed. He alone was right. Everybody else, or nearly everybody else, was wrong. His speech was filled with hatred and recrimination. He had already "explained" why Germany lost the war. The army was "stabbed in the back" by the Socialists at home. That was what Ludendorff had told a Reichstag Committee of Inquiry three years earlier, and he had stuck to it ever since, although the committee had found that it was Ludendorff's mistakes in strategy which were responsible for the defeat.

In the interval between that inquiry and the Munich trial Ludendorff had made a fresh discovery. The published documents, with their proof of his initiation of a peace movement so as to avoid a military débâcle, had convinced him that he must produce something more plausible than the "stab-in-the-back" fable; some deeper source of mischief, some vaster conspiracy. And, behold! It was the world-wide forces of Judaism that had really brought about the downfall of Germany, and Judaism in a strange alliance with Catholicism!

"We do not want the Rhineland by the grace of France or a State under the influence of Marxist, Jewish or Ultramontane powers," he said, "but a Germany which belongs only to Germans, and in which nothing rules but German will, German honor and German strength, a stronghold of peace, as in Bismarck's time."

Ludendorff's hatred of Jews was an old and familiar story. But the phrase "Ultramontane powers" was strange language for the ears of Catholic Bavaria to hear and Ludendorff was standing on Bavarian territory when he used it. Ludendorff, however, ran no risk of his meaning being misunderstood, nor did he try to disguise his feelings. In his eyes the Jews were, after all, minor villains in the drama of the defeat of the German Empire and the destruction of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The real traitor was the Roman Catholic Church; Bavarian Catholics had sought to destroy the Germany of Bismarck and to bring about the permanent enslavement of Germany to France through the destruction of Protestant Prussia. He alleged a correspondence between Dr.

Heim, the most influential of Bavarian Catholic politicians, and Francophile Bavarian monarchists designed to further the interests of Bavaria as against those of the other German States in the post-war settlement. He accused the Vatican of an anti-German attitude during the war, and denounced the present Pope for his remarks during the ceremony of the canonization of Joan of Arc.

This outburst of Ludendorff's loosened a storm of anger and controversy. It frightened his friends and delighted his enemies. It alienated the sympathies of tens of thousands of his supporters, wounded in their deepest spiritual feelings. It brought serious embarrassment to both the Berlin and the Munich Governments, both of whom sought to apologize to the Vatican.

STILL A HERO TO MILLIONS

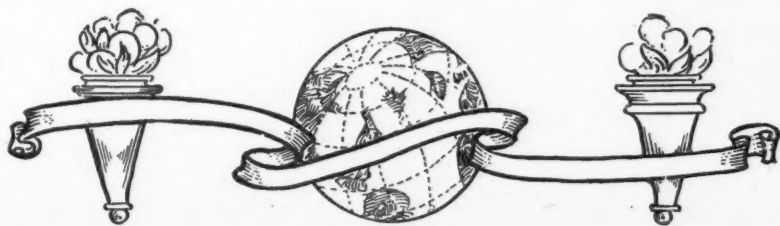
Notwithstanding this terrible mistake Ludendorff remained, and remains, a hero to millions of Germans. Acquitted of criminal culpability in the Hitler rebellion, he drove away from the court amid cheering throngs. Soon afterward, standing on the steps of his villa on the outskirts of Munich, he reviewed a parade of the Fighting League, the federation of militarist organizations which were the instrument of the Hitler-Ludendorff conspiracy. Even in this act both Ludendorff and the parading troops were openly defying the Government, which had "dissolved" and excommunicated the League as an illegal organization and a danger to the existing Constitution. Haranguing the rebels Ludendorff endorsed his indictment against the Catholics. The League must prepare, he told them, for a struggle "against the Marxist-Jewish view of

life." They must fight against "ultramontanism," which "writes Christianity on its banner but works with insidious poison."

All Ludendorff's previous blunders, political or strategical, can be counted as venal compared with this proclamation in Catholic Bavaria of a crusade against the Roman Catholic Church. Yet Ludendorff has survived even this self-exposure of his political blindness and his incapacity for assessing the comparative factors that go to make up a nation. Though its success was considerably below its own anticipations, twenty-eight members of the National Freedom Party were returned to the Reichstag with Ludendorff at their head.

Ludendorff went back to Berlin unchanged from the man who once shook the dust of the renegade capital from his boots. He entered Parliament with the same almost mystic belief in the mission of Germany that has always inspired him. Never for a moment does he believe that the German people have lost their faith in that mission, the fulfillment of which, he declares, was thwarted only because some leaders failed in their duty. It will still be fulfilled, he further is convinced, when all Germans submit in his own phrase, to an "autocratic dictatorship."

Ludendorff recently told an assembly of German students that "Germany demands from its youth burning love of their own country, hatred and revenge against the enemy." All his friends know, and none of his enemies denies, that Ludendorff is himself consumed by that "burning love." That perhaps is the secret of his continued hold, unshaken by his faults and his failures, on the imagination and loyalty of millions of Germans.



The Secret Gardens of Konopiste

By RHETA CHILDE DORR

Author of "Inside the Russian Revolution," "The Soldiers' Mother in France," "The Last of the Ural Cossacks" and other works

TWENTY miles south of Prague, on one of the fairest hillslopes of Bohemia, stands a place of ghosts, a place of mystery, Konopiste (pronounced Konopeeshstes), once the castle and country estate of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne. Konopiste is deserted, its great rooms closed and shuttered, the massive doors barred, the park gates chained, the neat cottages of retainers abandoned. Thus has it stood since June, 1914, when, with flags flying from all the towers, with soldiers of the smartest Austrian regiments on guard, the gates swung open to receive an exalted guest, William II., German Emperor, overlord of a score of reigning Kings, Princes, Dukes and Margraves and absolute monarch of colonies half around the globe.

The visit was strictly private, only one officer, Admiral von Tirpitz, accompanying the warlord. His Majesty had signified his wish to see, in their early Summer glory, the rose gardens of Konopiste, famous throughout Europe. In the rose gardens he tarried a single day and close on his departure the Archduke and his morganatic wife, Sophie, Princess of Hohenberg (born Countess Sophie Chotek), also left the castle for the military manoeuvres in Bosnia. They never returned to their Bohemian castle. Instead, their bullet-ridden bodies were borne to the cathedral crypt in imperial Vienna, that holds other dead of the fated Hapsburg line. The Archduke and his wife were murdered on June 28, 1914. Exactly one month later, six weeks from the day of the Emperor's visit to the rose gardens, the greatest war in history burst on a horrified world.

In the four years of deadly conflict that followed there was little time for any one to remember the war's first tragedy, and to this day the affair of Serajevo remains a crime on which no inquest has been held, no verdict ren-

dered. It is possible that the secret will never be disclosed, for of those who knew it some have died, and to those left alive silence spells safety.

June, 1914—a date so near that many high school children recall it clearly; a time so distant that could Franz Ferdinand and his wife return to Konopiste they would not know their world. The throne then almost ready for the slain Archduke is dust, his empire as extinct as Babylon. The keys of his castle are in possession of the Czechoslovak Government, men who were vassals in 1914.

Two years ago those keys unlocked for me the gates of Konopiste and the whole of a June day I wandered through the empty castle and through the scented garden of roses, acres of them, red, white, pink, yellow, the rarest stock in the world, and so fragrant that the lightest breeze blows their perfume to the distant walls of the castle. With me that day was an interpreter of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office, a man whose memories of ten years ago and what came after were very keen. What he told me, what the ghosts of the castle and the rose gardens told me, are here set down. But it is not all the secret of Konopiste.

For many hours that 12th of June, 1914, Emperor William, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Admiral von Tirpitz walked in the rose garden, talking earnestly. They strolled through long avenues strewn with fallen rose petals and finally they seated themselves, still talking earnestly, in a rustic arbor at the highest point of the garden. In that arbor, out of all sight and hearing, they remained until mid-afternoon, and when they came out the soldiers who, acting under strict orders, had kept the gardens clear of all intruders, thought they moved heavily, like men who had labored long and were very weary. And so

they might have been, for they had that day tossed in their hands the fate of uncounted millions. Amid the fragrance of roses they had made the last plans for the great war, closed the last bargain apportioning the fruits of victories, laid the powder train that was to set the world in flames.

Like many other Americans, I had often wondered how men could deliberately plan a war, how they could dare sentence whole nations to death and mutilation, widowhood, poverty and despair. The silent magnificence of the castle gave me a first clue to the mystery. The place is just as Franz Ferdinand and the Princess of Hohenberg left it. The gorgeous carpets and tapestries, the satin and velvet furniture, the crystal lustres, even the priceless works of art on the walls remain uncovered. In several of the state rooms life-size paintings of Countess Sophie smile from heavy easels. On the tables are the books last read and needlework dropped from the hands of the *châtelaine*; in tall glass vases there are even a few withered remains of flowers. Signed photographs of German and English royalties look at you from massive silver frames.

Yet over all hangs an air, somehow, of antiquity. The impression grows as one walks through the private apartments of the Archduke and his wife. Konopiste is an old castle; attempts had been made to bring it up to modern standards, but in all its luxury there exist less comfort and convenience than in the home of an American business man. I counted dozens of bedrooms and found only one bathroom, a place which must have served not only the family but their most distinguished guests. The state suite, where Emperor William more than once reposed, consists of several rooms, royally furnished, according to the standards of other days. In the dressing room is a huge marble washstand on which stand a rock crystal washbowl and pitcher which must have cost a small fortune to buy. The upper half of the tub-like basin, the handle and lip of the ewer are of heavy silver, deeply engraved.

Passing through the pathetic nurseries and schoolrooms, with their little white beds and cupboards full of books and toys, I reached at length the castle's private chapel, hung with crucifixions and madonnas of the old masters. Here again the antiquity of the whole place weighs one down. I saw hallways and long corridors decorated from floor to ceiling with trophies of the chase, hoofs, horns, hides, heads of almost every wild animal in the world. With pride the *cicerone* of the castle, once the chief huntsman, told me that there are over 300,000 of these trophies of slaughter in Konopiste alone, and many more in other residences of the late Archduke. "His Imperial Highness," says the *cicerone*, "was called the first gun in Europe."

At this point we passed into the museum of the castle, the Hall of St. George, containing nothing at all but pictures, tapestries and sculptures in marble, ivory, silver and porphyry of the patron saint of the chase. Archduke Franz Ferdinand had explored two continents for effigies of St. George; he had bought whole collections that he might at leisure sort out choice bits for his museum, which he had made a veritable treasure house of medieval art.

In this Hall of St. George and in the armory and shooting gallery adjoining, I began to understand that though those men who met here and amid the innocence of roses plotted the downfall of slowly emerging civilization, were our contemporaries; they were not moderns at all. They were feudal barons. To them the busy world of science, art, commerce, had but a shadowy existence. All humanity was to them made up of serfs and soldiers, fit only to work and to fight for the high ambitions of their hereditary lords. Everything in the education, environment and tradition of William, Franz Ferdinand, von Tirpitz and Countess Sophie had molded them into the cast of feudalism.

THE ARCHDUKE'S MARRIAGE

Konopiste was the favorite residence of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his



Castle Konopiste, Bohemia, the residence of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, who was assassinated at Serajevo

and from the court. Every one in society knew the reason.

Archduchess Isabella was the mother of two daughters, one of whom had been designated by the Emperor to marry Franz Ferdinand. It did not particularly matter which one the Archduke chose, but the elder daughter, Archduchess Marie Christine, was generally looked upon as the future Empress. Franz Ferdinand did not fancy either; he evidently expected to marry one of them in the end. He was a privileged guest at the Archduke Frederick's palace, and naturally came into frequent contact with the beautiful Sophie. A "grand passion" sprang up be-

family, not because they loved or were loved by the Bohemian subjects of Austria, but because the position in Vienna of Countess Sophie was excessively disagreeable. Her marriage to the heir of old Emperor Franz Joseph, in July, 1900, was the culmination of a European scandal the echoes of which reached as far as indifferent America. Vienna had the story much earlier, at the time when Countess Sophie Chotek, then lady-in-waiting to Archduchess Isabella, wife of Archduke Frederick and near relative of the Emperor, was ignominiously dismissed from her post

between the two, a passion which had to be kept secret, for although Sophie was a daughter of an old Bohemian family, with quarterings enough to admit her to the most exclusive court in Europe, she was not eligible to marry royalty. The lovers met as often as possible, and in some very obscure corner of the palace they established a private post office to which they confided daily letters.

The post office was discovered and the latest love letters brought to the Archduchess. Countess Sophie was dismissed in disgrace, the Emperor was notified and Archduke Franz Ferdinand was threatened with incarceration in a

fortress. But Franz Ferdinand was not the weakling type of Hapsburg with whom the Emperor was accustomed to deal. The Archduke defied the Emperor, refused to marry either young lady selected for him and declared his intention of making Countess Sophie his wife. This could be done, according to Hapsburg precedent, only by renouncing all rights to the succession, but this Franz Ferdinand coolly declined to do. As no marriage of the heir was legal without the Emperor's consent, Franz Ferdinand announced that his Vienna residence would be placed at the disposal of Countess Sophie and that society might do what it pleased about the matter. The scandal, he knew, would be great, but he preferred it to following the example of Crown Prince Rudolph, who died, with his sweetheart, at Mayerling.

The Emperor withheld his consent for a time, but seeing that the affair promised to be really permanent he gave in, and the marriage took place. It was, of course, morganatic, both Franz Ferdinand and Countess Sophie swearing on the crucifix to make no claim for her or for her children to the throne of Austria or Hungary. Sophie was elevated to the rank of Princess Hohenberg, the title of Princess in Austria being inferior to that of Duchess or Archduchess. The really kind-hearted old Emperor was disposed to treat the bride with consideration, but the other Hapsburgs would not have it so. There were about eighty in the family connection, and their will ruled the Court and all Vienna society.

The new Princess Hohenberg made a few public appearances and then retired, defeated. At the two Court balls which she attended her husband led the procession, the eldest Archduchess on his arm. After them, in strict order of precedence, came the other Hapsburg women, each, down to the latest debutante, properly escorted. At the very end of the line walked Sophie, alone. The affront was too great and the Archduke and his wife withdrew to their Bohemian estate, where, in time, three children—two sons and a daughter—were born.

FEUDAL DESPOTS IN BOHEMIA

It is a pity, at this point, to spoil what seems at first sight a perfect royal romance, but the fact is that neither Franz Ferdinand nor Sophie Hohenberg, as she became known, had in them any real elements of goodness or human kindness. They were despotic in every fibre and they seemed to find pleasure in subjecting their inferiors to the very treatment they so deeply resented in others. Sophie, who, as she approached middle age, lost much of her delicate beauty and became a little gross, could not endure the proximity of any attractive lady in waiting. Her ladies, it is said, were obliged always to wear gowns of sober color and a little out of style. Toward servants and retainers of the estate her attitude was unreasonably haughty and overbearing. No cottager dared install in his own house anything savoring of luxury. At frequent intervals the châtelaine of the castle with her attendants made surprise visits to the homes of gamekeepers, foresters and others, not with the traditional beneficence of the great, but in a spirit of malign curiosity as to how the people lived and occupied themselves. Woe betide them if the feudal lady discovered in their houses anything she considered above their station. The penalty was instant dismissal. "If they were honest they could not afford such things," was her formula.

As for Franz Ferdinand, his character, if less mean, was infinitely more brutal. The longer he brooded on the position of his adored wife and his three children the more vindictive his temper grew. His only real pleasure was in slaughtering wild animals, if animals born and raised in game preserves close to a hunter's home can properly be called wild. The Archduke's shooting parties at Konopiste became famous. American hunters would hardly call them sporting events; deer, antelope and wild boar were beaten out of their coverts and driven like frightened sheep before the noble butchers, who sometimes sat at ease in armchairs while they potted their game. Besides this fireside sport, so to speak, Franz Ferdinand

hunted big game in Africa, Asia and Canada. He never failed to kill; no matter which way the hunted animal tried to escape, there was a beater ready to drive it to its death.

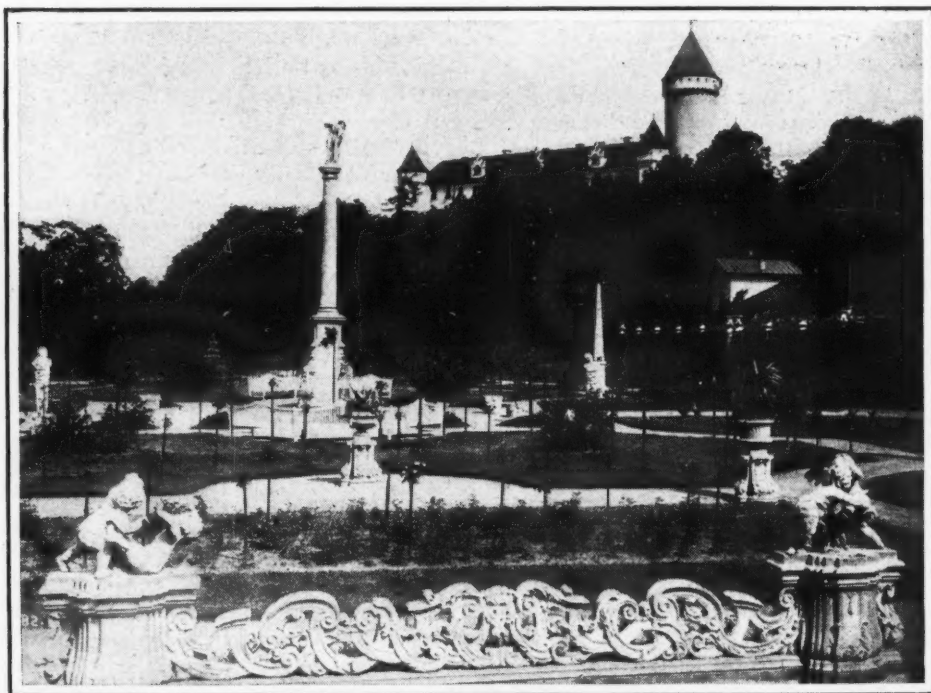
In the tragic end of this man one finds something almost like poetic justice. A few days after the historic visit of William II. "to look at the rose gardens" Franz Ferdinand, as Inspector General of the Austrian armies, went to attend important manoeuvres in Bosnia. With him, as usual, went his wife. They were not welcome in Bosnia and they knew it. Bosnia, a province forcibly seized by Austria in 1908, was almost entirely populated by South Slavs, a brave and persistent race which, through centuries of fighting, had gradually thrown off the Turkish yoke. Austria never helped the Slavs to liberate themselves, but always, as each little Slav country emerged victorious from a war with Turkey, the Austrians stepped in and annexed it. All the Slav countries, including Bosnia, were sullen and rebellious.

On Sunday, June 28, 1914, the Archduke and his wife drove to a reception

given in the Town Hall of Serajevo. On the way a bomb was thrown, seriously injuring one of the aides de camp. The Archduke, furiously angry, went on to the reception, where he soundly berated and cursed the unhappy Mayor of the town. Returning, he ordered his chauffeur to make a wide détour and to stop at the hospital where the wounded officer had been taken. The chauffeur drove through an unfrequented street, but here also fate stood waiting. A repeating revolver in the hands of a student put to almost instant death Franz Ferdinand and Sophie Hohenberg, his wife. The Archduke might have chosen that day, with the same result, any street in Serajevo. In every street men were waiting. No matter which way the hunted animal tried to escape there was a beater ready to drive it to its death.

"What do the Czechs think of that affair?" I asked the Foreign Office interpreter, as we walked through the rose garden.

He smiled. "Of course, every one knows who did it," he replied. "The student Prinzip, who died later in



The rose garden of Konopiste

prison. But who instigated the affair—the man higher up, as you Americans say—that is the mystery. We know very well that it was not the Serbian Government. Serbia was too recently emerged from the Balkan Wars, too weak, too poor to risk war with any great power. The Austrians had nothing to gain by the Archduke's death. He had overcome most of his former unpopularity and was regarded as the strongest military figure in the empire. The Government, of course, knew that a European war was imminent, and Franz Ferdinand's life was more valuable than ever. They had nothing to fear for the succession, for the pathetic Karl and his masterful wife Zita had given the dynasty several sons. As for the Emperor, he was 84 years old, he had forgotten his ancient grudges—and Frau Kathe Schradt was still very charming."

I reminded my Czech friend that neither the Emperor nor the Austrian Government had expressed much grief over the tragedy and that the scantiest funeral honors had been paid the murdered pair.

"The Archduke's papers were all seized, and it is certain that they were read before the funeral. Suppose those papers revealed the terms of the secret pact that was signed in this rose garden on June 12, 1914. Suppose William and von Tirpitz had shown the Arch-

duke an honorable way to evade the solemn oath he swore on the day of his morganatic marriage. Suppose they promised that the fruits of a war waged by Germany and Austria would be the revision of all frontiers, the creation of new kingdoms over which Sophie Hohenberg's sons should reign. Say Bohemia, Poland, the Baltic Provinces and part of Russia for young Maximilian and a great South Slav and Rumanian Kingdom for young Ernest. Sophie, the wife of an Emperor and the mother of Kings. Can you suppose that?"

"Easily," I granted.

"Many others have found it easy."

We walked slowly down the path, through the scented garden of roses, glowing under the setting sun. Once or twice I looked back, almost expecting to see uniformed men coming from the little hilltop arbor, the scene of the famous interview of June, 1914. Three men, one whose assassination precipitated the most terrible war of the ages; another whom that war stripped of all his imperial majesty and reduced to inglorious exile; a third, degraded from the imposing rank of the Chief Admiral of an empire's fleet to the status of a private citizen. It cannot be denied, I thought, as I walked through those sweet-scented gardens, lovely in the sunset glow, that the worst that can be said of the "mills of the gods" is that they grind slowly.



German Labor Under the Republic

By EMIL FRANKEL

Special representative, Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare; formerly special agent, United States Department of Labor

THE assertion is often made that in spite of the proletarian assumption of power as a result of the German revolution in November, 1918, no really fundamental alteration has taken place in the workers' general status in the republic. To this advocates of the republic answer that the workers have attained a power that marks a tremendous advance over their status under the old régime. What, they say, could better indicate the extent of the change than the fact that the Presidency of the new German Republic is occupied by a Socialist and former harnessmaker? The Socialist workers have established May Day as a legal holiday in a number of German States and cities. The German Government is officially represented at trades union congresses where formerly it would have sent police officials. A ship owned by Stinnes was recently christened Carl Legien, in memory of the eminent Socialist trade union leader.

The influence of the workers was strongly felt in the framing of the Weimar Constitution and in the enactment of advanced social and political legislation. The workers were largely able to shape the new legislation, which recognized the importance of labor as a factor in economic life, abolished many of the traditional employers' rights inherent in the individualistic conception of the labor contract, and created effective instruments to enable the workers to participate in the regulation of wages and working conditions on a plane of equality with the employers, and to take part in the general economic development of the nation.

The workers thus reviewing their revolutionary gains and achievements in social legislation nevertheless caution against the conclusion that pure democracy has been attained and Germany

transformed into a proletarian paradise. They point out that the language of the Constitution alone does not permit an exact judgment of the degree of democracy that has been attained. Nor do the labor laws that have been enacted in themselves offer a guarantee that the worker is really able to exercise the powers presumably his. The reasons why the workers have not been able to enjoy the full fruits of their dearly bought freedom from the nightmare of militarism have been the manifold problems that confronted the first Socialist Labor Government in republican Germany.

The masses clamored for the fulfillment of the old Socialistic pledges—the socialization of industry; millions of soldiers had to be demobilized and returned to industrial life; industries had to be restored which the imperial war policy had brought dangerously near the brink of ruin. And to these problems, which already required superhuman strength to solve, there were added the attempts of the Allies to exact "the impossible" from Germany under the Treaty of Versailles, which the workers claim was one of the chief causes of sending the German mark into oblivion. The catastrophic depreciation of the currency has brought about a veritable social and economic revolution. A vast expropriation has taken place at the same time that the nation's wealth has been concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists and large land owners.

Upon the workers the inevitable consequences of the depreciation of the currency and the employers' "consistent" wage policy in utilizing the uncertainties inherent in the process of rapid currency inflation have been a constant decline in real wages. Even now when wage contracts are made on a gold mark

basis the workers' lot has not materially improved, save to remove the uncertainties accompanying currency depreciation. The purchasing power of wages in Germany today is probably from 50 to 60 per cent. of what it was in pre-war days. The impoverishment of the workers has had the effect of benumbing them and has put a limit upon their ability to participate effectively in action through the trade unions. It is inevitable that these conditions should reflect themselves in the workers' movements. Since the currency crisis in November, 1923, most of the labor organizations have been compelled to discharge the greater part of their force and to curtail their work to an extent that constitutes a grave menace to the future existence of the whole German labor movement.

The capitalists, who have never willingly acquiesced in the workers' assumption of power, began their attacks upon labor as soon as the first revolutionary enthusiasm had waned. They have lost no time in reasserting their traditional rights and resolving to "put the worker in his place." The balance of power has again shifted toward the side of capital, which is making every effort to undermine the workers' political and economic position. The employers are clamoring for a "new economic policy," including abolition of all governmental control over industry, removal of all restriction on trade and commerce, and, above all, removal of all "social fetters" and restoration of pre-war industrial conditions.

The workers have found it increasingly difficult to ward off effectively the attacks made upon their revolutionary achievements. Through the Emergency law passed by the Reichstag in October, 1923, the employers have been able to nullify successfully a number of the advanced labor laws, such as the conciliation and arbitration of labor disputes, the legal extension of collective agreements, unemployment protective measures, safeguards against discharge. Even the eight-hour-day law, labor's most sacrosanct achievement, though still on the statute book, has undergone

so many modifications that it can hardly be said to exist at all.

Though labor has been pushed back for the moment in Germany's struggle for industrial recuperation, and even though labor's leaders have lost some important vantage points, they assert that no German Government can maintain itself in power today against the will of the organized workers. Who are these politically and economically organized working masses who represent such a tremendously real counterpoise to reactionary excesses and harmful anti-social tendencies, and who furnish primarily the security for the continued existence of the German Republic?

THE SOCIALISTS

The membership of the Socialist Party is now about 500,000, but more than once the party has shown that it can rally to its support nearly one-half the entire German electorate. In the election to the Constituent National Assembly in January, 1919, the Socialists (then split into two factions, now reunited) received 13,761,048 votes out of a total of about 30,000,000. Ever since the 1912 Reichstag election they represented the strongest single party in that body, and though the number of the Socialist Deputies has been materially reduced in the last (May, 1924) election—from 173 to 100—they still have a larger representation in the Reichstag than any other single party.

The Socialist assumption of political power has made the worker "State conscious." He is beginning to redefine his attitude toward the republican State, which to him is no longer the antagonistic class State of the Hohenzollerns. To the workers the existence of the republic is a question of life and death, because they consider it the only possible ground upon which the present struggle for enlarged labor rights can be successfully fought. Although avowed internationalists, the Socialists object strenuously to accusations that they are unpatriotic. They declare that they have a vital interest in building up a strong national State, an equal among equals in the concert of nations, which would

assure to the workers unhampered development of their latent powers. They say that, as they are now an integral part of the State, they cannot afford to pursue a narrow class policy; they recognize that cooperation with the responsible bourgeois republican parties is absolutely necessary.

It is obvious that the Socialists' feeling of responsibility for the State is calling out more and more their latent reformistic tendencies—the proletarian commonwealth. Utopian, doctrinaire ideology is yielding to conceptions more in consonance with social facts. The German Socialists are quite ready to declare that absolute adherence to the Marxian dogma is no longer possible in view of the entirely different position which the Socialists occupy in the republic and in view of the completely new problems they must meet. Although the Socialists still profess adherence to the concept of the class struggle, which they consider fundamental, they are quite willing to modify its practical application.

How little the present-day German Socialists are inclined to speed the revolutionary process is clearly shown by their latest party program, formulated at Görlitz in September, 1921. This program, unlike its predecessors, which seemed to have been designed for eternity, is for the here and now. It is plainly impatient with those who would spend their time in a lengthy discussion of the theories of socialism. The Görlitz program omits practically all theoretical concepts, speculations and prophecies, such as the theory of recurring economic crises, the unavoidable disappearance of the middle classes and the continued impoverishment of the working class. Reform work and concentration upon present-day problems are stressed and the following "unrevolutionary" aims are put in the foreground; protection of the republic and sharpest condemnation of all attempts at restoration of the monarchy; suppression of "class justice" and thorough-going reforms of the whole judicial system; fundamental financial reforms on the basis of taxation at the

source and equitable distribution of the tax burden; conservation and protection of labor by the extension of social legislation; socialization of the public health service and educational institutions; a foreign policy of reconciliation and reparations payments to the utmost of Germany's capacity.

THE COMMUNISTS

A republican force of a peculiar nature is the Communist Party, a number of attempts at whose suppression have been made, but which is "still going" and emerged quite triumphantly in the last Reichstag election. The *raison d'être* of the Communists seemed to be untiring, zealous, never-ending agitation. The mantle of orthodox Marxism has fallen on their shoulders; they declare that capitalism is already in its death throes and Germany in the midst of the social revolution, which must be accelerated. The Communists severely criticize the Socialists for neglecting the class struggle and charge that their opportunistic politics have dissipated the militant spirit and revolutionary zeal of the workers. The Communists, in the main, are opposed to parliamentary methods, declaring it puts fetters upon the free use of spontaneous mass action, merely allowing the workers' representatives to make their "little speeches," only to be taken in tow by the capitalistic-nationalistic parties when it comes to decisions of far-reaching consequence.

The Communists also object strenuously to cooperation with the bourgeois parties, because the class struggle and political cooperation contradict each other, and because the Socialists are generally worsted in a Coalition Government. The Communists likewise are fiercely opposed to the trade union policy of securing improvement in the workers' status through joint action with the employer. To the Communists the idea of cooperation is a conscious attempt of the employers to make the workers forget the class struggle, and the danger is that it may really "harmonize" class differences to some extent and cause a split in the workers'

ranks, which will make the inevitable struggle so much more difficult.

What do the Communists propose to do? Their plan is to replace the bourgeois Government by a purely workers' Government, which would be a class instrument pure and simple. The parliamentary system might be temporarily retained, but the workers' control of the Government would be exercised directly through the Workers' Councils (*Betriebsräte*), which would become effective instruments of the class struggle to be consistently utilized for mass action. The Communists place no reliance in the present organs of the State—the police, the army, the administrative offices. They urge the workers to inaugurate immediately a system of "self help," which would include the formation of proletarian committees to control food and clothing prices; a proletarian army of defense against the growing fascist movement; committees of proletarian action, and so forth.

It goes without saying that the Communists are meeting with the united and determined opposition of all the bourgeois forces in Germany. They also are strongly opposed by their own Socialist parents. The Socialists believe a policy of compromise with the bourgeois parties is necessary in order to guarantee Germany an orderly democratic development. They ridicule the Communists as "willing tools of Moscow." The Socialists think that Moscow methods and the employment of desperado politics lead only to destruction, and that the Communists are merely playing into the hands of the reactionaries.

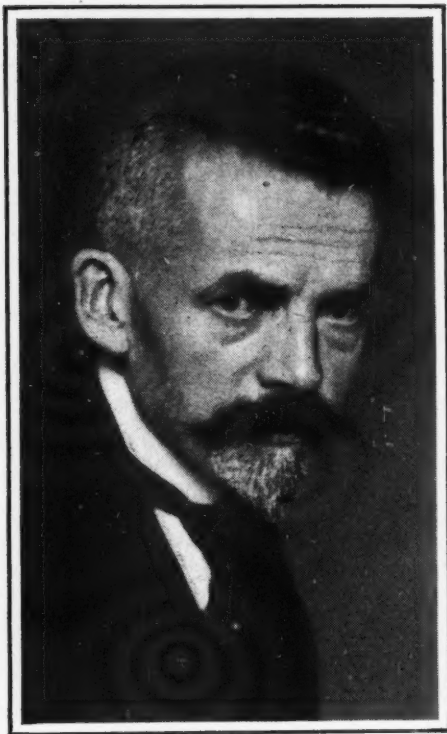
How powerful a political factor are the Communists today? What influence have they upon the masses? Is the movement growing? In answering these questions it should be remarked at the outset that due to the spectacular advertisement campaigns carried on by the Communists, they have created the appearance of a strength and importance which they do not really possess. It is true that in the 1924 Reichstag election they increased their number of Deputies from 15 to 60 in a body that has a total

of about 500 seats. The recent augmentation in their ranks, however, is due not so much to new converts to communism as it is the going over to the Communist Party of the radical element belonging to the former Independent Socialist Party. It will be recalled that all the remaining leaders of the Independent Socialist Party rejoined the old Socialist Party in September, 1922, but apparently the rank and file of the Independents were of another mind, as the last Reichstag election has demonstrated.

THE TRADE UNIONS

Germany's trade unions have a membership of about 12,000,000, including almost the entire number of the gainfully employed in the country. Among the three large central labor organizations which comprise this army of workers the Free (Socialist) Trade Unions with a total membership of almost 10,000,000 are easily the strongest and most influential factor in Germany's industrial life today, and may be regarded as the backbone of the German Republic. It was the Free Trade Unions, which by declaring and carrying through with remarkable discipline the first general strike, saved the republic in the critical days of March, 1920, when reactionary militarists and bureaucrats sought to overthrow the republic. The strength of the Free Trade Unions lies not alone in their large membership, but in the fact that the brain workers of Germany are included. The three central organizations of the organized Socialist workers' forces which are closely united are: (1) The General Federation of Labor, which has a membership of 8,000,000 and is the central organization of forty-nine national trade unions of manual workers; (2) the General Federation of Salaried Employees, which numbers almost 1,000,000 members, and (3) the General Federation of Government Employees, with about 300,000 members.

Since the revolution the trade unions have proved that they can be more than mere instruments for securing wage advances, as their formal legal recognition



THEODOR LEIPART
Chairman of the German Trade Union
Federation

as the accredited workers' representatives has made them practically organs of the State; and through the pressure of their organized strength they have been able to wield a tremendous influence upon Germany's political and economic life. In a great many of their efforts the Socialists and the Free Trade Unionists obtain the whole-hearted support of the other non-Socialist workers' groups—the Christian (Catholic) and the Hirsch-Duncker (Liberal-Democratic) trade unions. Though these workers' groups do not espouse the ultimate aims of socialism, they are determined to secure a development which will allow the workers continued interpenetration into German social and economic life, without, however, encroaching too far upon the employers' initiative or radically changing the existing system.

The Communists at present are making tremendous efforts to spur the trade unions on to some mighty thoroughgo-

ing action, which in its magnitude should be commensurate with the numerical strength of the trade union movement. Through the formation of "communistic cells" within the trade unions and the Works Councils, the Communists are trying hard to "radicalize" the unions from within. Their effort to "capture" the trade union movement is meeting with some success, and they have gained control of a number of local labor organizations. It is not likely, though, that they will be wholly victorious over the moderate trade union forces, as they are violently opposed by the conservative trade union leaders, who adhere strictly to the policy of political neutrality.

Difficult as are the problems which the bourgeois republican forces have to face today in putting Germany's house in order, and in creating an enduring foundation for the republic, the Socialists' and trade unionists' problems are infinitely greater. Upon their shoulders rests not only the task of defending and strengthening the republic, but, as the workers' representatives, they must, at the same time, guard their special political and economic interests and secure for them an increasingly important status in the German Commonwealth. It is evident that labor's advancement cannot proceed, however, without coming in conflict with the bourgeois forces, which are not likely to relinquish voluntarily any of their rights. The Socialist leaders know, too, that their followers are still a minority in the entire population, which necessitates a policy compromise and cooperation with those very elements whose rights they would curtail.

It is this policy of compromise and cooperation which is causing serious divisions among the workers. A great many are plainly impatient with the slowness with which their cause is progressing, and the general feeling of disappointment with the revolutionary achievements is spreading to the extent that the growing reaction is endangering the strategic political and economic position the workers have been able to capture.

The conservative Socialist and trade union leaders are fully aware that they will have to reckon with this feeling, but they are nevertheless urging the observance of the same moderation now that guided them during the turbulent revolutionary days. They strongly oppose the violent methods of the "proletarian dictatorship" as demanded by the Communists, realizing that at this moment even the strongest political and economic organizations of the workers could not effect any fundamental changes in modern economic society. They believe that progress must come step by step, and that if positive results are to be obtained the laws of organic development will have to be observed. Their utterances give the unmistakable impression of the deep conviction that force will not advance the workers' cause, and that the interests of the working classes demand strictest adherence to the democratic principle. They want to secure the workers' advancement by the use of parliamentary methods and through the economic powers of the trade unions. The Socialists are confident that the workers' power and influence will increase to the extent in which the Socialist Party and the trade union movement gain adherents thoroughly imbued with the Socialist idea.

The future development of the German labor movement will not take a radically destructive course, but is more likely to proceed gradually, with a minimum disturbance of orderly economic processes. This prognostication is made notwithstanding the fact that at the moment there are unmistakable signs of a growing radicalism among the masses. This is not so much the out-

growth of a desire for an immediate overturn of the existing system as a manifestation of despair. The flame of general discontent is deliberately fanned by the never-tiring Communists and occasional "flare ups" must be expected. The conservative Socialist and trade union leaders have the great mass of the workers pretty well in hand, however, and in so far as they will be successful in adjusting wages to conditions the danger of extensive revolutionary upheavals will diminish.

Among the great mass of the workers the feeling seems to predominate that nothing is achieved through the agitation of the extremists save increased suffering and privation among the workers and their families. The workers seem to realize that they cannot hope to wrest anything very important now from their very strong capitalist opponents. The revolution has taught the workers that the socialization of society cannot be the work of a moment, and that it cannot be achieved by the forcible overthrow of existing economic institutions. The workers are fully aware that they must first learn how to manage the entire industrial apparatus themselves, and gradually become the sole possessors of the power of State. The immediate problem of the workers' leaders is to bring some measure of stability into Germany's social and economic affairs. If that is achieved, they will be able to concentrate all their efforts, now fruitlessly expended in petty wage fights, toward securing for the workers a determining voice in industrial management, and to bring about the complete democratization of the nation's entire social and economic life.



Whither Goest Thou, Russia?

By A. MARGOLIN

Former Justice of the Ukrainian Supreme Court of Appeals in Kiev; former member of the Ukrainian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (1919)

FOR several months, until the appearance of Premier Rykov, the successor of Lenin, before the International Communist Congress on July 3, his name had not been mentioned in the reports coming from Moscow. He seems to be only the nominal head of the Government. The triumvirate of Stalin, Zinoviev and Dzerzhinsky have made all possible efforts to remove from their way Trotsky and other prominent Bolshevik leaders and to become themselves dictators as the real heirs of Lenin. They were partially successful in their attempts, but only for a short time during Trotsky's sickness and sojourn in Caucasus. Since his return to Moscow, however, his popularity and influence have greatly increased and he and his adherents are becoming serious rivals in authority to the triumvirate.

Neither the triumvirate nor Trotsky, however, will be able to succeed to the dictatorship of Lenin. The logic of events precludes such a possibility. The days of 1917, when demagogic slogans, loud words and broad, extreme promises made a man or a group of dictators, have passed. The populations of the Soviet Republics are now disappointed in all such slogans and promises on paper. Even the recognition of the Soviet Government by the Western European powers did not make them enthusiastic, as this recognition remains until today purely academic and abstract. Their eyes are now turned, not toward the Soviet leaders, but toward London and other Western capitals, where the possibility of foreign loans and technical support for the Soviet Russia of today is being discussed. The problem of "to be or not to be" for the Soviet Government is dependent not upon the will of one personality, but on the decision of the capi-

talistic countries which are so hated by the Communist leaders.

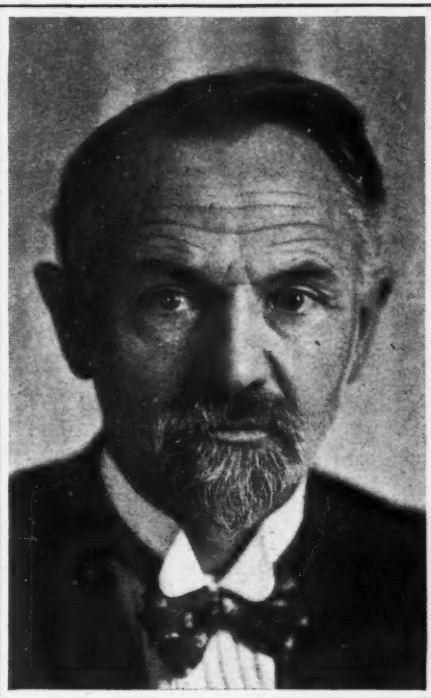
The old question of the significance of the part played by single personalities in the history of mankind persists, however, today. Many are inclined to explain the most complicated situations as the result of the influence or activities of individuals. During the war the majority of the people of the warring countries in conflict with Germany held the opinion that there would have been no war had it not been for Wilhelm II. Similarly, it is believed that there would have been no Soviet régime in Russia had it not been for Lenin. The fact is, nevertheless, that, instead of the personalities creating history, history creates the personalities. Certain correlations of events form conditions which determine the significance and the rôle of this or that person. At the very beginning of the Russian revolution the mass of the population of the former empire were well acquainted with the names of Miliukov, Makhlakov, Kerensky, "Grandmother" Breshkovskaya, Chkeidze, Zeretelli, Tchaikovsky. Only the narrow circle of the Russian intellectual Socialists knew Lenin and Trotsky. These two leaders of the Russian Social Democrats had no roots in the peasant masses. The peasantry was, according to the tradition of decades, under the influence of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. The Social Democratic Party had many adherents, but only among the workmen, who constituted but a small part of the population. Even among these the late Plekhanov was much more popular than Lenin.

Both the Socialist revolutionists and the Menshevik faction of the Social Democratic Party have promised in their official programs radical political and social reforms. The Bolsheviks, however, won the support of a significant part of the Russian Army and

Navy, which were weary of the war and expected that the revolution would bring it to an end. Lenin's popularity among those who asked for immediate peace at any price reached its zenith in a short time and brought him to the position of real dictatorship in November, 1917. Fate therefore created further conditions under which Lenin's significance could continue until the day of his death. The status of civil war, due to the campaigns of Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel and other "White" Generals, justified the maintenance of a large Red army. Intervention and the blockade on the part of the Entente gave Lenin an opportunity to affirm that the economic disaster, the paralysis of the industrial and commercial life of the country, were but the direct result of civil war with the White Generals. All the Communistic experiments of Lenin, his impulses, boldness and repentances, which followed the changes in his economic policies, were possible only thanks to these abnormal conditions. One part of the population was brought to obedience by terror of the Tcheka; there were, however, also numerous groups among the peasants and workmen who saw in Lenin the bulwark against any attempt at the restoration of privileges and estates to the landlords.

Lenins do not create history. History creates Lenins. Accidental waves of circumstances bring them to the heights, make them heroes, tyrants, leaders. By the hands of Lenins are achieved events already predestined by the correlation of forces and existing conditions of the given period.

Lenin died not long before the recognition by the British Labor Government of the régime which he headed. He was nominally replaced by Rykov, assisted by Chubara and Orlakashvili, Presidents of the respective Soviets in the Ukraine and Georgia. Rykov is not at all well known abroad, but even in Russia his name does not mean very much. No one of Lenin's collaborators, indeed, has, at this moment, any chance of becoming the real leader of the group, which is ruling the Soviet Federated Republic, for conditions do not favor it. The entire interest of the



LEONID KRASSIN
Russian Commissary of Foreign Trade

future development of events, however, does not lie in the question as to which men or group will be the real successors of Lenin. History always finds executors for its designs. The vital question is now: What events will happen in the near future in the vast territories of Eastern Europe and Siberia, in the territories nominally under the domination of the Bolsheviki?

WHAT THE SOVIET MUST YIELD

The bitter experience of the past years has shown the whole danger of struggling with the Bolsheviki by opposing to them the White Generals and the blockade. We now face a question of intervention not against, but in favor of, the Soviet Government. The recognition of Russia today by the Western European countries is only the first stage in such an intervention. But this mere fact of recognition is insufficient. The economic position is the supreme test. What are the economic facts?

Premier Rykov in his speech before

the International Communist Congress on July 3 painted the present economic situation in Russia in bright colors. Industry, he admitted, had attained only 45 per cent. of the pre-war production total, but he contrasted this favorably with the position in 1920, which represented only 15 per cent. of pre-war output. He represented the financial position as greatly improved by the stabilization of the ruble and declared that the foreign trade balance was now in Russia's favor to the extent of 100,000,000 rubles. In agriculture, he stated, the sown area had increased steadily since the introduction of the new economic policy, until in 1924 it had reached a point between 85 and 90 per cent. of the pre-war output. The numbers of workers employed in industry had considerably increased, though unemployment was still a serious problem. Wages had risen from 40 per cent. of the pre-war figure to between 65 and 70 per cent. Coal production was satisfactory and there was sufficient oil to give a large surplus for export. (It was reported from Moscow on July 4 that the oil production of the Grosnyi district in the Caucasus had nearly doubled in June by the bringing in of three gushers with a daily output of 20,000, 13,000 and 150,000 poods each, and that the June production was 10,000,000 poods as against 6,500,000 in May.) These facts, said Rykov, had induced the Soviet Government to show far greater caution in giving concessions to foreigners than was formerly the case.

All this makes a rosy picture of the present economic situation, but taken in the majority of the details it does not correspond to the facts as known by non-bolshevist economists or to the admissions of the Bolsheviks themselves in their official organs.

The Soviet Government and the population under its nominal control are, from their own admissions, in the situation of complete bankrupts. The semi-crippled railroads and factories cannot be restored without foreign loans and the help of technicians from abroad. Private trade which started to develop under the new economic policy is again

forbidden. The new class of the Soviet bourgeoisie (the so-called *nepmen*) has been ruined by this return of the Soviet Government to its original system of suppressing private initiative. The old bourgeoisie of the former Russian Empire, on the other hand, leads a life of hardship and privation, either under the Soviet régime or abroad as political refugees. Not only their financial means but also their energy and ability for creation are exhausted. They are broken people without any chance to recover and to be active again in the rebuilding of the economic life in their native country. All intellectuals who have remained in Russia and who are not adherents of the Soviet policy are persecuted and terrorized. The younger generation is underfed, physically weak and quite unprepared for the hard task of modern upbuilding on the ruins of the former empire. Many thousands of the youth who could not prove their proletarian pedigree have recently been ejected from the high schools and universities under the new decrees of the Soviet Government. Some of them were so desperate that they ended their lives by suicide.

The peasantry, on the other hand, who are the only class of the population in a relatively better situation, stand in great need of agricultural machinery for their work and of many other things for their personal necessities. All this cannot be produced at home by local forces. The most dangerous omen, however, is the bad prospects for the next crop. The Bolshevik papers recently drew attention to the critical situation of the sowings in the Southern Volga region, Ukraine, Azarbaijan, Crimea and the northwestern regions. This is due partly to the lack of rain, partly to marmots and other animals. It was reported on July 4 that orders had been given to despatch between 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 bushels of grain to the affected area as food for the population and cattle and seed for the Autumn, resulting in a sudden drop in the local prices for grain. The Soviet officials insist that there is no danger of a general shortage. Time will tell.

There is full evidence that the support of foreign capital will be indispensable for all these territories under the Soviet régime. All the countries, however, which possess the necessary means for aiding the 150,000,000 Soviet subjects can agree to render their assistance only under certain conditions. The Soviet Government will be compelled to agree to many essential changes in their régime. The guaranty of inviolability of persons and property of foreigners will be the first condition made by the foreign Governments. The acceptance of this condition will naturally be followed by an urgent demand of the permanent residents and citizens of the Soviet lands that they be given equal rights with the foreigners. The abolition of the shameful death penalties, deportations and imprisonments of political opponents, the establishment of freedom of speech, press and meetings, the recognition of the right of self-determination for the nations composing the 150,000,000 Soviet subjects, the admission to the ranks of Government of the liberal and socialistic elements—in brief, the gradual transition to the forms of democracy—is the only way of peaceful evolution, the most painless and bloodless path out of the existing situation. Leonid Krassin and some other representatives of the minority in the ranks of the Bolsheviki, are among the adherents of such an evolution.

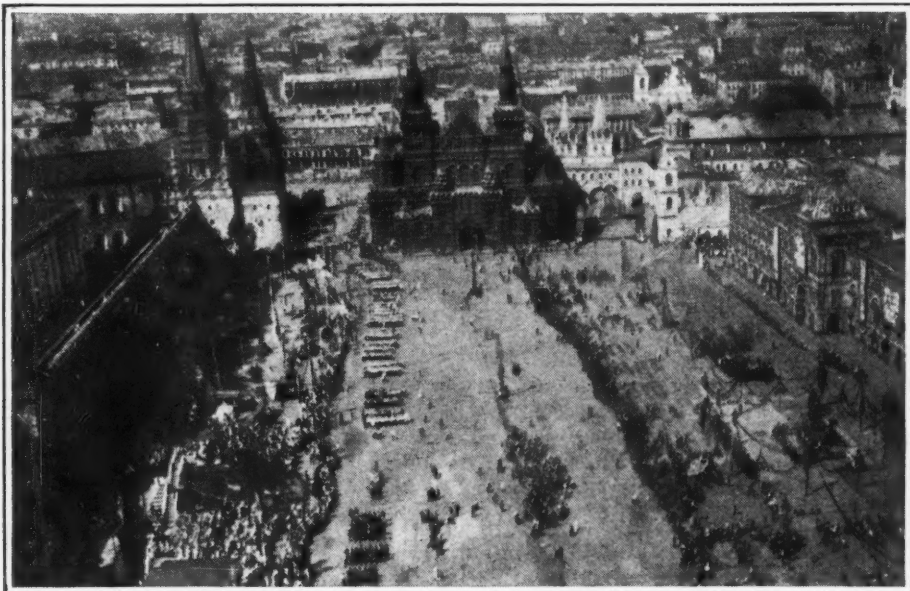
IF THE LEFT WING TRIUMPHS

What will happen, however, if the Left Wing of the Bolsheviki, the non-compromisers and extremists, do not accept the above-mentioned conditions and if they establish full control? In that event the support and aid of foreign countries will be out of the question and the further disintegration of economic life can only bring the entire country to catastrophe. The subterranean national movements for separation and political independence from Russia which exist in the Ukraine, Caucasus and other territories of the former Russian Empire, the struggles between monarchists and republicans, reactionaries, liberals and Socialists, all these

forces now repressed will be released in their full power and will bring civil war, famine and distress.

The chances of a restoration of the monarchy under such conditions as those I have depicted, however, are practically negligible. Even should the Russian monarchists succeed their victory would be only temporary and they would be unable to retain power. Besides the opposition of peasants and workmen, the heterogeneousness of the nationalities composing the population in that part of the world will be an insurmountable obstacle to any permanent restoration. Ukrainians, Tartars, White Russians, Georgians and others will never agree to fall again under the power of the "Czar of Moscow." The old Russia of the Czars—that prison of peoples—is too fresh in their memories. At this moment, the peasantry of Ukraine and Caucasus are in a very inimical and irreconcilable spirit toward Moscow and all that is Russian, thanks to the trials and tribulations which the peasants with other classes underwent during the past years. Both Denikin and Lenin personified Moscow, Great Russia, in the eyes of the Ukrainians and Caucasians. If the peasants were asked to choose between them, however, they would prefer the Bolsheviki, as the régime of the White forces signifies to them the restoration of the privileges of landlords.

What will remain of socialism after the downfall of the Bolsheviki or their evolution? The Bolsheviki themselves, as Social Democrats, understood even before the revolution of 1917 that a backward agricultural country does not offer conditions favorable to the rapid implantation and successful adaptation of socialism. There were Russian Social Revolutionaries (not Social Democrats) who idealized the peasants and saw in them, as in the workmen of the factories, the basis of socialism during the revolution. Now it is clear to all that the peasants follow the Socialists only in so far as the taking over of the estates of the landlords is concerned. Their socialism ends, however, as soon as the other question arises, the ques-



An aerial view of the Red Square outside the Kremlin, Moscow

tion of equalizing the rights of the peasants themselves to use these estates.

The dawn of real socialism, it is clear, will not appear first in Russia but in the capitalistic countries, with their huge industries. The realization of socialism will begin in those countries with the nationalization of the most important branches of industry. Agricultural Eastern Europe, on the other hand, and notably Russia, are destined to go through the process of creating industry by means of private initiative and foreign capital.

The separatist aspirations of the Ukrainian and Caucasian peasantry should not be forgotten in considering the Russian problem as a whole. The ideal of the Ukrainian or Georgian peasant is the complete independence of his respective territory from Russia. This Separatist aspiration is extremely strong at this time. A centrifugal process is

a significant characteristic of modern East European peasantry. Their negative attitude toward the former system of centralization which was the essence of the old Russian Empire and their local patriotism, recall the epoch of the dismemberment of the Roman Empire. We live today, however, in a different era, in other conditions. The Separatist spirit prevailing now among many European nations is a natural reaction from their former subjection and dependence on a few imperialistic nations and of their desire to fulfill freely their rights of self-determination. The clear consciousness of a community of economic interests, binding all European nations, will bring them later to the revision of this program. The Separatism of the nations of the former Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires will be only a stage toward a union of European nations on the basis of economic treaties or confederation.

Emigration From Soviet Russia

By GENERAL A. LOUKOMSKY*

IN comparing the Russian revolution of 1917 with the great French Revolution of 1789, Americans and Europeans make the mistake of viewing as analogous the two emigration movements caused by these revolutions. A study of the facts, however, reveals no similarity whatever between the two flights and establishes that, on the contrary, they are made up of radically different elements. The French emigrants, it should be remembered, belonged almost exclusively to the aristocracy and to the Royalist Party; the Russian emigrants, on the other hand, represent all classes of the Russian people; totaling more than 2,000,000, they include the very best cultural, scientific, technical and spiritual forces of the Russian nation.

The first trend toward emigration from Russia manifested itself immediately following the fall of the Romanov monarchy, in March, 1917, and was accentuated by the subsequent persecution of the monarchists; the usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks on Nov. 7, 1917, gave further stimulus to this tendency and resulted in the emigration of many representatives of the higher circles of Russian society. With the development, during the Spring of 1918, of the Red Terror, and its attendant violence, a large number of persons belonging to the bourgeois elements started moving south toward the Ukraine, where the German Army of Occupation had made its appearance; during the following Winter, when the conclusion of the World War brought about the evacuation of the German Army from Russia, these refugees divided, many seeking the protection of the Russian White (anti-Bolshevist forces in Odessa, the Crimea, the Don and the Kuban, while others followed the retreating Teutons into Germany; this latter movement constituted the first notable emi-

gration of the Russian bourgeois classes to Germany.

The next twelve months were marked by additional sporadic emigrations which continued through the Winter of 1919-1920. With the collapse of the Southern White front of General Denikin's army in the Spring of 1920, a considerable number of refugees were evacuated from Odessa and the Crimea to Bulgaria and Turkey. The chief evacuation from the Crimea, however, occurred in November, 1920, when General Wrangel's decision that he could hold out no longer against the Bolsheviks precipitated the arrival at Constantinople of more than 140,000 persons, these including 90,000 civilians who had taken refuge in the vicinity of General Wrangel's troops.

In addition to the periodical emigrations from Russia there is a steady flow of miscellaneous refugees. This exodus started in 1917 and has continued without abatement. Some of these emigrants obtain special permits to leave, others are deported. In the latter class recently came several university professors whom the Soviet Government considered harmful. Russia's vast army of exiles makes use of every method and

*General Loukomsky, one of Russia's most brilliant military leaders under the old régime, was, at the outbreak of the World War, appointed Secretary of the War Office; from the Summer of 1915 until April, 1916, he was Assistant Minister of War. After active service at the front, he became Chief of Staff of the Ninth Army and later Director of Military Operations attached to Military Headquarters. After the first revolution he was Commander of the First Army Corps and Chief of Staff for General Broussilov and General Kornilov. Arrested after the latter's "revolt" against the Provisional Government, he escaped in December, 1917, and fled to the Don, where during the period of civil war, he was Chief of Staff of the Volunteer Army and later under General Denikin War Minister. During General Wrangel's anti-Bolshevist activities he served as the latter's representative before the Interallied High Commission to Constantinople. Being himself an exile from Russia and in intimate touch with other exiles in almost every capital of Europe, General Loukomsky has had exceptional opportunity to study the whole question of Russian political emigration from a broad, historical angle.

route which will carry them out of the domain of the Bolsheviks. They have scattered over an incredibly wide area, and today there is probably not a country in the world without its quota of Russian emigrants. In far-off Manchuria, where these exiles have been reduced to virtual beggary; in Constantinople, where some 1,500 to 2,000 Russians live in dire need, and because of their refusal to recognize the Soviet authority are persecuted and denied opportunity to work; in Poland and the Balkan States; in France, England and the United States, this great army of the dispossessed of Russia is struggling and suffering, embittered but bravely "carrying on," hoping against hope for the coming of brighter days.

Among the refugees are more than 200,000 ex-soldiers, most of whom fought on the side of the White armies of Generals Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel and Miller in the civil war against the Bolsheviks; these veterans, who are distributed through various countries, lead the same kind of life as the other emigrants and shirk no honest work of any kind. In their ranks may be found many distinguished heroes of the World War who held prominent posts in the old Imperial Army and Navy, and who are now working in stone quarries, factories, on farms, as small traders, and so forth. Most of these men are now united in associations or in officers' unions; the veterans endeavor to keep alive the military spirit and discipline among their members and to increase their knowledge by lectures, bulletins and discussions.

WRANGEL ARMY IN BALKANS

In Yugoslavia and Bulgaria there is a well-organized remnant of the Russian Army which fought the Bolsheviks in South Russia; at the head of this unit, which clings to its old identity as the Russian Army, is its Commander-in-Chief, General Wrangel, with a small staff. This army, numbering about 30,000 men, is divided into two corps, which in turn are subdivided into divisions and regiments. Numerically, these

regiments are far from complete military units, and serve merely as skeleton formations which could, in case of need, be complemented to full war strength.

There is a strange sound in these words, "The Russian Army in the Balkans!" A great deal of effort was expended by the representatives of France and England, after the Crimean evacuation of 1920, to disrupt the Russian Army beyond hope of reorganization, and the late M. Stambulski, then Prime Minister of Bulgaria, together with the representatives of various Russian political parties, aided France and England in this undertaking. Nevertheless, the Russian Army lives. It is not an army in the ordinary sense; that is to say, it has no regular regiments, batteries and squadrons composed of men dressed in the same uniform and equipped with arms. About this army, however, there remains that imponderable and invisible something which goes to make the soul of a great fighting machine, and this has not been destroyed. The officers, soldiers and Cossacks who compose this army are scattered through Serbia and Bulgaria, working in small separate groups, as well as large units, on road-building, railway construction, lumbering, and in the mines. On weekdays they are common laborers. On Sundays and important holidays, however, they don their uniforms; in the morning they march to church in military formation, and in the evening they attend discussions, lectures, concerts and amateur performances in their spotlessly clean barracks. They all live in the hope that Russia will not perish and that they will yet have the good fortune to serve their country. The young men are diligently studying foreign languages and entering, so far as possible, the technical schools of Czechoslovakia, France and Germany, to prepare themselves for further usefulness in the Russia that is to be.

Educational facilities, even of the most advanced grades, are available to the refugees. There are in Serbia three Russian cadet schools, two higher colleges for women and two high schools ("gymnasiums"); in these institutions



THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS
Uncle of the Czar Nicholas II. and Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army during the war;
now leader of the anti-Soviet forces

the children of the Russian exiles receive their training.

YUGOSLAVIA HOSPITABLE TO EXILES

Numerous invalids of the World War and of the Bolshevik Civil War now live in Yugoslavia. For their benefit homes and various technical schools have been established. Many ex-soldiers, chiefly those of higher rank, who do not form part of General Wrangel's Russian Army, have found refuge in Yugoslavia; some of these veterans have been taken into the Government service, while others earn their living at whatever work they may find. Life for them is often a very hard struggle. For example, one old General, who distinguished himself during the Russo-Japanese War and who during the World War commanded one of the Russian armies, has rented a small basement, where he now lives, selling firewood and kerosene. Another General, who used to be a military Governor in the Caucasus, now earns his living as a

shoemaker. Of examples such as these there is no end.

There is scarcely a Government institution or important private concern in Yugoslavia without its quota of Russian employes. Though these workers occupy only unimportant positions as clerks or minor officials, the Belgrade Government has made such extensive use of their knowledge and previous experience that collectively they play an important part in the political life of the country. Russian engineers and technicians have established an especially good reputation, and many Russian professors have been invited to teach at the universities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Liubliany. Among these we find world-famous scholars, such as Professor Brant, former Director of the Institute of Ways and Communication of Petrograd (the highest training school in Russia for traffic engineers) and M. Afanasiev, Professor of History at the Petrograd University. All over Yugoslavia a great number of commercial and industrial establishments

have opened which give remunerative labor to many Russians. At Belgrade two Russian newspapers are published, and there are operatic, dramatic and ballet troupes, as well as several orchestras and singing societies.

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND, GERMANY

In Czechoslovakia the doors of many institutions of learning have been thrown open to the Russian youth, the facilities including a Russian "gymnasium," or high school. The educational institutions in this republic are headed by the Russian Academical Union, under the Chairmanship of Professor Lomshakov. Many of the Russian professors have been offered chairs in the various universities. These educators include some brilliant scholars, as, for instance, Professor Krivoshein, the well-known expert on bridge building and army engineer. At Prague there is published a Russian journal—the *Russkaia Mysl* (Russian Thought)—which is edited by the academician,

Peter Struve, a well-known Russian scholar and political leader.

In Poland the difficult economic and financial situation of the country, as well as the often hostile attitude of the Polish authorities, renders living conditions very hard for the Russians located there. The destitute mass of refugees in that country is reduced to the hardest kind of physical labor, which returns but a pittance. Aside from these unfortunates, however, there is in Poland a small number of wealthy Russians whose properties happened to be included within the territory of New Poland.

In Bulgaria, after having gone through a very difficult period of persecution during the latter days of the Stambuliski régime, the Russians are now free of molestation. They support themselves mainly by physical labor. The University of Sofia has engaged several Russian professors to give lecture courses.

Germany at first attracted many Russians because of its low cost of living, the opportunity it afforded to live under more cultured conditions and the chances of better employment. The total number of Russian emigrant-refugees in Germany has been estimated at more than 500,000. The majority settled in Berlin and the vicinity. There are, however, considerable colonies of Russian refugees at Munich, Dresden, Wiesbaden and Baden-Baden.

LARGE RUSSIAN COLONY IN FRANCE

The acute economic crisis which Germany suffered in 1923 greatly increased unemployment there and precipitated a wholesale emigration of Russians to France. The Russian refugees in France now represent a very great variety of different elements. We find there most of the members of the Russian Imperial family, though not the Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna and her daughter Olga, who now live in Denmark; in France also are located the majority of the Russian high nobility, with the exception of a few distinguished Russian aristocrats who now live in Munich, Rome, London or Vienna; such as elected to stay in

France may have been influenced to do so by their possession of properties in Paris and its environs, and also on the Riviera. Other refugees who have settled in France include representatives of the former governing classes, among these being the former Presidents of the Council of Ministers, Count Kokovtsev and Trepov, as well as leading representatives of trade, industry and finance; furthermore, the Council of former Russian Ambassadors under the Presidency of Mr. Giers and the Executive Bureau of the Russian Red Cross, under the Chairmanship of Count Ignatiev have continued to function in France. Most of these exiles live in Paris, which is also the refuge of representatives of various Russian political parties, ranging from the Monarchist organizations under the Presidency of Trepov to the Liberals and Socialists, headed by Miliukov, Kerensky and others.

The regular business of the social, commercial, industrial and financial elements of the Russian emigration and of the various political parties in France is now conducted in the French Capital. Most of the ordinary refugees earn their living by physical labor. At various places in France, but chiefly at Paris, Russians have established a number of commercial institutions which are doing a thriving business. In Paris, also, there are published two Russian newspapers and several journals edited by such prominent men as Bunin, Grebenshchikov and Nazhivin. The representatives of the Russian artistic and musical world in Paris include many celebrities. Across the channel, in England, also, one finds yet other noted figures among the refugees; in London is located a large group of famous leaders of the commercial, industrial and financial world of pre-revolutionary Russia.

MANY SUCCEED IN AMERICA

In 1922 the Russian emigrants scattered throughout Europe and Asia began a concerted effort to reach the United States; they were attracted here by the opportunities America offers for a living wage and normal, civilized existence. Figures on the Russian im-

migration into the United States during the past two years show that, under the Russian quota of 24,405 immigrants annually, there arrived, between July 1, 1922, and July 1, 1924 about 12,000 Russians and about 36,500 of nationalities included in the Russian quota. Among the bona fide Russians who entered the United States during this period there were about 6,000 emigrant refugees arriving from countries other than Russia. Under the quota allotment in the new immigration law which went into effect July 1, only 1,992 Russians will be admitted to the United States each twelve months; this sharp reduction, unfortunately, will almost completely stop the further immigration of cultured and educated Russians.

The majority of the Russian immigrants now in the United States are employed as manual workers in factories, mills and on farms. Among them there are persons who in Russia held high positions as doctors, engineers, technicians, chemists, artists and writers. Some of the immigrants have already started commercial enterprises, opening stores and restaurants; others are winning their way up in the professions. Noted scholars who are rapidly being recognized here include Professor Petrunkevich and Professor Rostovtsev. Professor Baron Korff had made swift progress until his death recently. In Timoshenko, who is now with the Westinghouse Company, and in medicine Professor Boldyrev, while Professors Auer, Rachmaninoff, Zilotti and Drozdoff have gone far toward winning the recognition of the New World for their achievements in art and music. Many Russians in the factories, mills, shops, and especially in the art stores, of the United States are attracting attention by the merits of their work.

I am convinced that in the work of reconstructing Russia after the establishment there of a national Government the United States is destined to play a tremendously important part. In addi-

tion to lending moral support to the future Russian national Government, and shipping food and other necessities to that starved and utterly destitute nation, America will supply Russia both with capital and with technical experts. The experts will find that there is an enormous amount of work to be done the technical field one finds Professor in every branch of trade and industry, agriculture and mining, work also which involves the expansion and development of the oil industry and the restoration of the ruined railway and water transport services.

HOW A CENSUS WOULD AID

In order, however, to do successful work in a land so unlike America, those experts will have to possess a knowledge of Russia and the characteristics peculiar to that country; in this respect, I believe that many of the Russian immigrants now living in the United States and Europe could prove exceedingly useful. A census should be taken and the Russian immigrants should be registered, each according to his trade or profession; thus it would be possible eventually to use those who are distinguished for their knowledge and ability along certain lines, in work calling for the exercise of the specific equipment each possesses. Two acknowledgments are essential to an adequate review of the sufferings undergone by Russia's host of refugees. In all their wanderings, the Russian emigrants have been greeted with warm sympathy and even been substantially aided by the representatives of the United States Government and of such American organizations as the Y. M. C. A., the American Red Cross and many Russo-American relief committees, to say nothing of the generosity of private citizens. The Russian exiles will never forget the beneficence which America has so lavishly bestowed, and which will establish future ties of closer friendship and sympathy between the American and the Russian peoples.

The New Scandinavianism

BY FINN B. FRIIS

A Danish publicist; author of many articles on Scandinavian subjects

THE natural surroundings of the three Scandinavian nations are as different as possible. Conspicuous exterior diversities in the national character of the Scandinavian populations have their first origin in these natural conditions, and radical variations in the development of industries are also caused by them. The fundamental racial characteristics of the inhabitants of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, however, are practically the same. The predominant religion has for a thousand years developed along similar lines. Although the languages of the three countries have all diverged considerably from the Old Norse, which is common to them all, a Dane, a Norwegian and a Swede can easily read the two other languages and understand their principal dialects.

In the history of the three countries we find forces working toward unity and other influences decidedly opposed to it. Bloody wars have alternated with periods of peace. No war has been waged between the Scandinavian countries, however, since 1814. When Norway went its own way in 1905 Sweden gave to other nations an example of national self-control in not trying to prevent the secession. Symbolically the fortifications of the frontier were demolished and a neutral zone established. After these events it became improbable that another war would ever arise between the Scandinavian peoples, or that any conceivable dispute would operate to turn the current, now running so strongly toward peace and mutual understanding.

The second third of the nineteenth century saw a powerful movement of "Scandinavianism," supported mainly by the academic classes in the three countries. Though this movement was originally based upon a common desire for a more lively intellectual inter-

course, it soon became connected with far-reaching plans of political and military alliances. The efforts in this direction failed, to the great disappointment of the Danes, who had hoped for the assistance of Sweden-Norway in the war with Germany in 1864, though this disappointment found compensation in the fact that numerous Norwegian and Swedish officers and soldiers joined the Danish Army as volunteers and gave their lives in the struggle for Slesvig.

The war of 1864 put an end to these high-soaring political aspirations, and it seemed for a time as if the whole Scandinavian movement had died with them. But when the Danish disappointment had subsided a new Scandinavianism arose. Beginning with the solution of certain concrete problems, this movement has now developed into a strong, practical current, embracing not only intellectual but financial and economic relations.

One of the first and most tangible results was the Scandinavian monetary union of 1873, which brought about a more complete unity of circulating mediums than any other union of its kind. It proved of very great practical value for more than forty years, until the economic revolution of the World War caused its suspension.

During the eighties and nineties a series of very important common Scandinavian laws was passed, especially in the field of commercial legislation, not by an inter-Scandinavian parliament, but by separate action of the three national Legislatures acting on the recommendation of joint Scandinavian juridical commissions. This intercommercial cooperation has been carried on ever since. Inter-Scandinavian meetings and conventions in all fields of industry, arts and sciences, which had already started in the forties and fifties, were resumed toward the end of the century

and continued until the happenings of 1905 brought most of them to a temporary standstill.

WORLD WAR BRINGS NEW TIES

The World War affected all the Scandinavian countries deeply, and to a certain extent in the same way, although their foreign orientation as well as their material conditions were somewhat divergent. Though the general sentiment in Denmark on account of the Slesvig question and other experiences of the past was decidedly anti-German, part of the Swedish people, through fear of Russia, had been led to look with sympathy to Germany as a bulwark against the Slavs. In Norway, on the other hand, public sentiment had long been predominantly pro-English. Though these facts gave the foreign orientation of the three countries different aspects, strong forces worked toward mutual cooperation. The stress of wartime conditions rested upon them all, and the pressure which the belligerents brought to bear upon the neutral countries grew more and more perceptible. Denmark, Norway and Sweden were all sincerely determined to remain strictly neutral. It was only natural that each of them should seek the moral support and practical assistance of its neighbors.

These considerations led to conferences between the Scandinavian Kings, Premiers and Secretaries of State. Meetings began in 1915 on Swedish initiative and were held at intervals during the following years. One of these meetings was especially significant as the occasion of the first visit of the Swedish King to Norway after the separation of 1905. It was used by him as an opportunity of proclaiming the will of the Swedish people to maintain relations of friendly cooperation with the new kingdom. At these meetings the common problems of Scandinavia were discussed. The desire to maintain absolute neutrality was repeatedly emphasized. On several occasions the discussions resulted in joint diplomatic notes to the fighting groups, upholding the rights of the neutrals in the face of constant violations by belligerents. When the blockade and

the submarine war made it increasingly difficult to obtain the necessary supplies, economic questions came prominently to the fore. The diversified character of the industries of Scandinavia, regarded as a whole (Denmark, agriculture; Sweden, forestry and metal industry; Norway, fishing and chemical industries), made possible an organized extension of the inter-Scandinavian exchange of goods.

At the same time the closer relations of these years resulted in a greatly increased intellectual and social intercourse. The neutral countries naturally tried to cultivate the few international connections which had not been cut off through the war. Lawyers, physicians, economists, teachers and scientists met to discuss their common problems and to get acquainted with their colleagues in the neighbor countries. Manufacturers, merchants, employers and employes sought cooperation and exchanged experiences. The annual meetings between Scandinavian students were continued. After the armistice these activities became still more extended.

LIAISON WORK BY "NORDEN"

A central organization for the further development of all this friendly intercourse was created in each of the three countries in 1919—the association "Norden," founded with the object of promoting friendly relations, better understanding and cooperation between the Scandinavian countries. This association does not attempt to bring about a closer *political* connection between Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Its work is limited to practical efforts in the economic, social and intellectual fields, emphasizing common interests, but leaving free scope for the play of each country's individual national characteristics.

The activities of the branches of Norden are largely along educational lines. Each of them maintains a bureau of information, which collects news of Scandinavian cooperation in different fields. A common year book is published with reports of the principal developments.

An exchange of lectures and artists has been established, and the question of an extended interchange of instructors and students between the Scandinavian universities is under consideration. The spreading of knowledge of the language and literature of neighbor countries is stimulated, especially through the schools. Summer tours have been arranged for teachers and young people.

In 1921 two very successful meetings were held under the auspices of Norden—the Summer school for sixty Scandinavian students at Heimtun, near Kongsberg, in Norway, and the first Scandinavian “short course” for young business men from Sweden and Norway in Copenhagen. In June, 1922, a “Scandinavian Week” was arranged in the Swedish city of Helsingborg and participated in by numerous visitors. In July and August of the same year a new

Summer course was held at the old castle of Hindsgavl in Denmark.

It is generally expected that these activities will grow in the years to come. They are followed with sympathy by most classes and parties in Scandinavia. Only in Norway certain groups of the population, under the leadership of the prominent National - Democrat Johan Castberg, have voiced suspicions of the new Scandinavianism from the standpoint of Norwegian nationalism. It is natural that the Norwegians should desire to assert their newly won national independence, but there is no probability of any encroachment upon Norwegian independence from Denmark or Sweden through these activities. The disappointments of the past have created a sound and realistic view both of the possibilities and the limitations of the new Scandinavianism.

Progress in Far Off Iceland

By MAURINE ROBB*

Editor on the staff of the Christian Science Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

GOVERNMENT control, free trade, tariff—these questions are agitating the deep waters of Icelandic politics quite as violently as they are disturbing American and English political life. Iceland, with its volcanoes and glaciers, its delightful Summers and its long, though comparatively mild, Winters, is a country little known to Americans. Their first reaction to the name is a shiver, as if Iceland were nothing more than its name implies—a cold and barren waste. Yet Iceland is a country unexcelled in natural beauty and gracious hospitality, a country whose people are similar to the Americans, with problems today almost identical with those confronting Americans and Englishmen, problems of government control, railroads, capital and labor, even prohibition!

Government monopoly is the question causing most controversy in Iceland to-

day. During the war it was deemed expedient to have Government monopoly and practically all necessities were imported by the Government. For two years the Icelandic Government was under treaty to sell all produce to Great Britain. Since the close of the war, however, the feeling of the people has changed, and although they grant that it was necessary during wartime to have the Government control their commerce, they now desire the restoration of free trade. Iceland is divided on the question, however, one party upholding free trade, the other upholding Government monopoly. The business men are for free trade; many farmers, the Socialists and cooperative societies are for Government monopoly. The general ten-

*Miss Robb, who is a graduate of the University of Toronto, Canada, served with the British Expeditionary Force in France. She has recently returned from a trip to Iceland, Norway and Denmark.

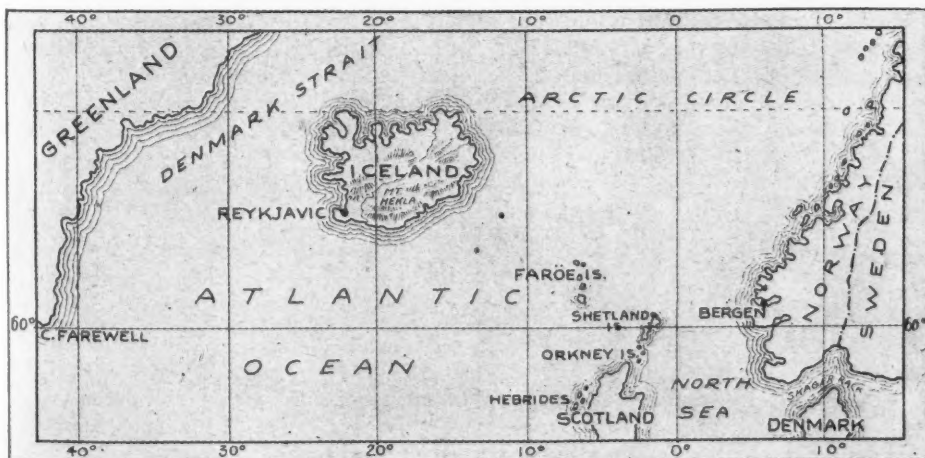
dency, however, has been away from Government monopoly, as is evidenced by the fact that today the Government controls only the trade in spirits and tobacco. The leader of the Free Trade Party is Jon Magnusson, who was the Premier of Iceland during the greater part of the war. What would correspond to so-called "Big Business" in America is behind Magnusson. This group contends that Government monopoly brings about dearer imports and imports of inferior quality.

Iceland is one of the few countries in the world that have no railroad. That does not mean it is unprogressive, nor that it is behind the times. So far a railroad has not been thought necessary. The country is small and communication is cut by fjords, mountains and lava beds. Until recent years the only transportation was by means of ponies over stretches of what could hardly be dignified by the name of roads. Occasional ships called at Reykjavik, and at rare intervals went up the west coast of the island. Mail was sent inland by pony express. Now, however, the roads have been improved and though ponies are still used more than anything else, there are motor cars in Reykjavik, the capital city; in Akureyri, the second largest city, and in many of the small fishing communities. In addition quite a number of steamships go round the island, all of them carrying mail.

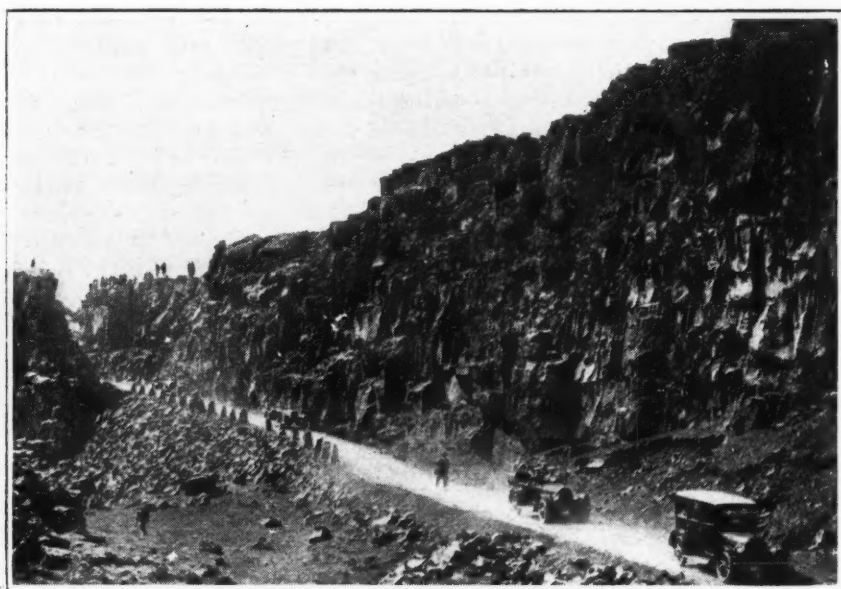
For some time, however, the problem of railroad construction has been occupying the inhabitants in and around Reykjavik and in the southern lowlands. Those in favor of having a small railroad built have gone so far as to have a route surveyed and estimates made of the probable cost. Should the plans go through it would mean a railroad of perhaps eighty miles in length running south and east from Reykjavik.

Bound up to a certain extent with the railroad problem is that of irrigation. A plan is on foot which, if carried out, would mean the recovery of much waste land in the southern and eastern part of Iceland; it is asserted, however, that if this plan is to succeed, there would have to be railroads by means of which the goods could be carried to the port. The irrigation plan seems sound and a certain amount of money has already been voted by the Government. The railroad, however, would certainly not be built for a year at least.

One of the many wise and sane steps taken by the Government in Iceland in the last two or three years has been the encouragement of agriculture. That does not mean the raising of wheat, barley, oats or any kind of grain, for Iceland cannot, because of the nature of her soil and climate, raise any grains; it means encouraging the farmers to beautify their farmsteads by the planting of trees, grass and flowers. When there is



Map showing the position of Iceland in relation to Denmark and other countries



Living Galloway

The main road to Thingvalla, where the Icelanders more than 1,000 years ago held their open-air Congress. The photograph indicates the barren soil which prevails over the greater part of Iceland.

obviously no possibility of this being done because of lack of capital, the Government steps in with seeds and encouragement in the way of prizes. At Akureyri a great deal has been done at the botanical gardens to prove to doubters that flowers will grow out of doors in Iceland. Beautiful beds of large, sturdy pansies may be seen there; rows and rows of mountain ash twenty feet in height; forget-me-nots border beds of carnations, lupins and other flowers common to this country. Gardens are plentiful, too, throughout the town. Behind a small mountain at the back of Akureyri is a small "forest" of birches. If the Government continues to assist financially, there is no doubt that in a few years time a tree twenty feet high will not be a novelty and much of the barrenness will be covered with grass where more ponies and sheep may feed, and so add to the prosperity as well as the beauty of the small island.

DEVELOPMENT OF WATER POWER

Iceland has already done a great deal toward the development of her water

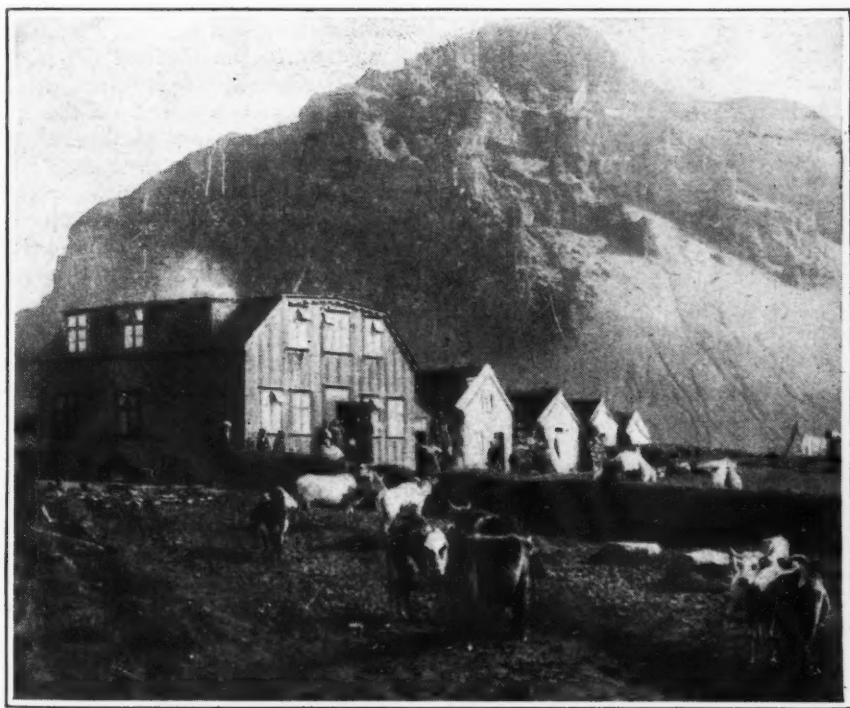
power, but she still has unlimited resources. Akureyri last year built a 300-horsepower station which supplies the town with light. Not satisfied with this, however, the town fathers are considering the enlargement of the plant in order that housewives who so desire may do their cooking by electricity. Reykjavik has been supplied with electricity for the last two years, and uses it both for light and heat. Even isolated farmhouses, miles away from civilization, have frequently their own motor, with enough of the water power under control for lighting and heat. Plans are in the making for the further development of the water power, with the idea of utilizing it so extensively that there will not be need for importing such large quantities of coal. By the judicious use of peat, already used as fuel by many farmers and the poorer classes, it has not been found necessary to buy so much coal. As yet, however, only the smaller of Iceland's waterfalls are used. If some definite system of making use of even one-tenth of the power contained in Iceland's large waterfalls were adopted by the Althing, Iceland's

governing, parliamentary body, the question of heat and light would be solved for all time. If Iceland had some industries where such power would be advantageous, speedier action would undoubtedly be taken. As it is, the only suggestion made has been that as in Norway, electricity be used for the proposed railroad and that saltpetre be made for the cultivation of the soil. Norway is setting the example to the world in electric railroads and is well started on a splendid system of developing her enormous water power.

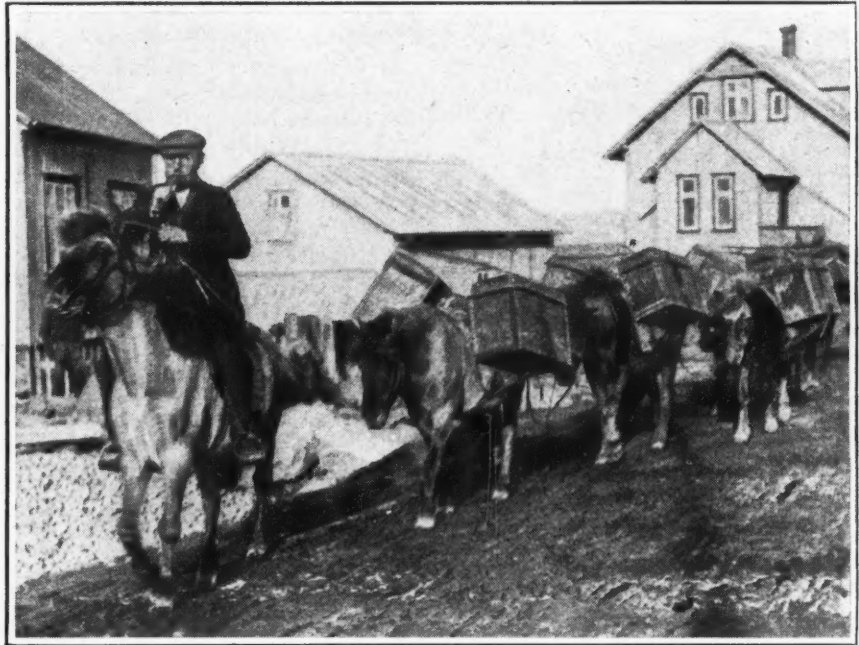
For forty years Iceland's cooperative society has been gradually growing until today it is one of the strongest organizations in Iceland and one of the most successful cooperative societies in the world. Its headquarters are located in one of the newest administrative buildings in Reykjavik. The Cooperatives form what is known as the "Progressive" Party in Icelandic politics and are very influential; their party suffered a setback, however, in the elec-

tions to the Althing last October, when it was defeated by the Free Trade Party.

Both buying and selling is done by this cooperative society. It buys from the farmers and sells to the foreign markets; it imports and sells to the farmers. Dairy produce, sheep skins, meat, wood, seals, fox and eider-down are the chief products from Iceland, and the imports include practically all the necessities as well as some luxuries. The Icelanders, however, are not a luxurious race. They live well but simply. They will have to live even more simply in the future than in the past, for one of the new laws passed by the Althing and commented on widely since the beginning of May prohibited for two years the importation of a long list of articles—both necessities and luxuries—including ready-made clothing, shoes, nearly all dry goods, all kinds of bread, butter and margarine, cheese, salt meat, pork, sausages, eggs, fruit, leather goods, oils, soap, furniture, pictures, films, watches, clocks, motorcycles, automobiles and so forth. The law was



A farm in Iceland



International

A postman making his rounds in a village in Northern Iceland. The mail boxes are strapped on the backs of ponies and the postman announces himself by blowing a horn

adopted as one step to improve the value of the Icelandic crown.

Cooperative dairies are in working order all over Iceland, and although they are separate institutions from the cooperative society, they sell to it. Since the war Icelanders have gone into dairying more and more, until they promise soon to number among the best dairying peoples in the world. Denmark, England and Scotland trade with Iceland for its dairy produce, and efforts are being made to market this produce in the United States.

Plans for the building of a new hospital in Reykjavik are due to the work of the first woman member of Parliament in Iceland, Miss Bjarnason. Three and one-half million crowns are needed for the carrying out of the outlined plans. The property has been chosen and architects have been engaged to perfect designs to be submitted to the Althing for its approval; it is not expected, however, that the constructive work will be started for at least a year. The hospital building, when completed,

will also serve as a medical school, supplementary to the medical department of the University of Reykjavik. The hospital project was one of the questions confronting the Althing when it convened on Feb. 15; since the Constitution of Iceland provides that the Althing be dissolved and new elections held every four years, the present House, with its one woman member will, therefore, continue to govern until October, 1927.

Miss Bjarnason's work for the hospital has won her the respect of all the political parties in Iceland. When she was elected, for the first session she sat silent, learning as much as she could of the parliamentary system in order to make as few mistakes as possible. When ready, she opened fire with the bill for a new hospital. That her efforts are about to be crowned with success is due to her own expertness in conducting her campaign and to the Icelanders' readiness to do everything possible for the betterment of their country.

Fishing is the leading industry in

Iceland; more than that, it is the liveli-hood of the greater part of the popu-lace. Just as America has her labor troubles, so Iceland has hers, except that they are so small in comparison and so readily settled that they make the American laborer seem like a French revolutionist! For instance, at the beginning of the last herring season the fishermen, ready to put out to sea in the trawlers for the season's catch, de-cided that they must have higher wages. The owners of the trawlers, however, like all capitalists, decided that they could not pay any increase. After sev-eral meetings of the owners and several protests on the part of the fishermen, the latter decided that unless the higher wages were forthcoming they would not go to sea. For some time the trawlers lay idle in Reykjavik harbor. Then the fishermen and the owners decided to settle the matter by arbitration. For a few days there was a small amount of agitation around the wharves, where a few of the more energetic fishermen tried to start a mild fight. There was, however, no serious disturbance. The committee agreed upon by the repre-sentatives of labor and capital settled the affair by granting a very slight in-crease of wages and the trawlers gayly put out to sea. Once, I was told, there had been a real strike in which blows were struck and the young men of Reykjavik were called out to quell the disturbance, which they did with un-loaded rifles! Even strikes in Iceland are carried out with the dignity worthy of the Icelandic national character.

Anything which affects the fishing, however, strikes at the very life of the island. It was realization of this fact that enabled Spain to force Icelanders to drink her wines, in return for which the Spaniards promised to eat Icelandic salted and dried fish. Thus it was that prohibition was nullified in Iceland, much to the distaste of some of the Ice-landers, who, whatever their personal preferences, had made up their minds that it was for the benefit of their country as a whole that they should pass prohibition, and consequently were not pleased that Spain should have the

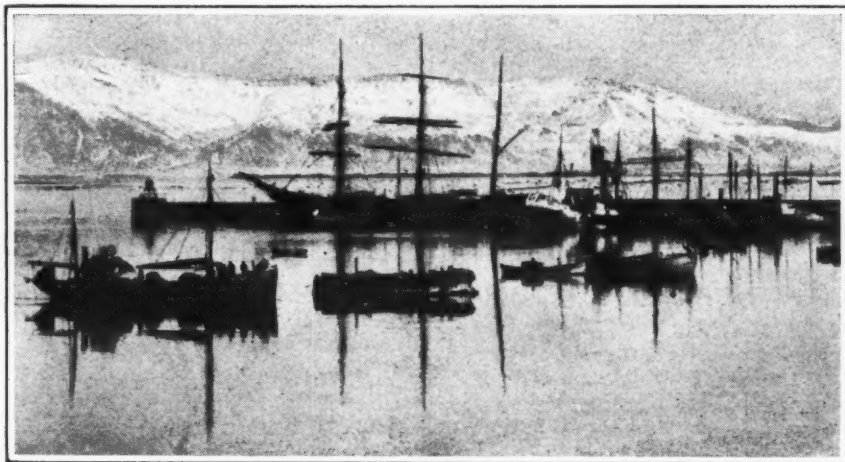
whip hand sufficiently to force them to again admit wines and liquors.

In order to advance fishing commer-cially in Iceland, where there are estab-lished as many as 700 commercial firms, nearly all connected with the fishing industry, a Chamber of Com-merce or trade has been formed, of which Gardar Gislason, a Reykjavik merchant, is the leading member. The organization is similar to chambers of commerce in America, except that mem-bership is necessarily very small and occasionally members have to over-subscribe in order to meet necessary expenditure.

Reykjavik is fortunate in having its theatre, where the production of an Ice-landic drama three times a week pro-vides amusement for the people. The library, with its 100,000 volumes, is



A girl in the national costume of Iceland



The harbor of Reykjavik, capital of Iceland

filled with earnest readers every evening. Sveinbjorn Sveinbjornsson, Iceland's most noted musician-composer, who lives in Reykjavik, has given several concerts there. He is one of Iceland's talented sons, recognized by the paternal Government of his country, and is given a yearly stipend in order that he may carry on his creative work without financial worries. Einar Jonsson, an eminent sculptor, is also being cared for by the Althing, which has built a museum and studio for him in

Reykjavik and has purchased all his works, bringing them back to Reykjavik, where they are on exhibition in the museum.

So Iceland follows the even tenor of its life in the Far North, facing its troubles, political and climatic, with dignified, calm determination to overcome them, if possible, and if not, to endure. The Althing, the oldest Parliament in the world, might well be taken as a model of how best a Government may serve its people.



Rise of the Republican Movement in Greece

By WILLIAM J. RUSSIS

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writer on Near East questions

THE recent establishment of the Greek Republic is a puzzle even to those who have followed the political situation in Greece since the establishment of the modern Greek State about a century ago. The most surprising part of it is that the new régime has been formally approved by nearly three-fourths of the Greek people. The writer of this article was in Greece up to 1912. He lived through the political turmoil of 1909 which resulted in the temporary expulsion of the royal Princes from Greece and in the advent of Mr. Venizelos to power in 1910. He heard officers of all ranks hurl bitter invectives against King George I. as well as against the leading statesmen of the day, but he never heard the word "demokratia", seriously discussed. To explain this puzzle the political evolution of modern Greece and the rise of the democratic idea which led to the establishment of the present republic must be historically traced.

When Greece entered the family of nations in 1827 she was governed, under the official title of "Governor of Greece," by Johannes Kapodistrias, a Greek, native of the famous Island of Corfu, who had been in the service of the Czar of Russia for over fifteen years. He had been elected to office by the Greek National Assembly, and his election had been approved of by the protecting powers of Greece, namely, England, France and Russia. He ruled over an independent State, the political status of which was yet to be decided. During his administration several attempts were made, either by the Greeks themselves or by the protecting powers, to find a King. The choice fell on Prince Leopold, later King of the Bel-

gians. For various reasons Leopold declined the offer of the Greek throne, and the question regarding the political status of Greece remained unsettled.

Kapodistrias was assassinated in 1832 and was temporarily succeeded by his brother Augustine, whose administration was short-lived. The various chiefs who had directed the destinies of Greece during the war of independence were unwilling to serve under the Corfiote brothers, whose patriotism was unquestionable but who had not taken active part in the battlefields during the war. Furthermore, the inability of the Greeks to appreciate and support good governments, and to distinguish between democracy and freedom on the one hand and monarchy and tyranny on the other, forced Augustine Kapodistrias to withdraw from the political arena of Greece. A political cataclysm and internal disorder followed. As there was no Greek aristocracy from which to choose a King, the protecting powers selected the youthful Prince Otto of Bavaria to be King of Greece. The new monarch, invested with absolute power, arrived in Greece in 1833 and was received with open arms by the very leaders who had accused Kapodistrias of autocracy and tyranny.

The Greeks soon realized that their attitude toward Kapodistrias had been wrong. In agreeing to allow his son to mount the Grecian throne, King Ludwig of Bavaria stipulated that a regency composed entirely of Germans and invested with absolute power should accompany the youthful monarch of Greece and should rule in his name until he became of age. Greece was now an absolute monarchy ruled over by foreigners. The Greeks had very

little to say regarding the destinies of the little land which they had liberated after seven years of a most devastating war. This unfortunate state of affairs lasted for ten years. Exasperated by the arbitrary rule of the Bavarians, the Greeks demanded a Constitution in 1843. As King Otto refused to grant a Constitution, the Greeks, under the leadership of Colonel Kalergis, a veteran of the revolutionary war, bombarded the palace and forced the King to grant a Constitution and to dismiss his German advisers. It is interesting to note that in the course of a month a really democratic Constitution was framed by the National Assembly, which had been called for the purpose, and signed by the King. Thus this remarkable revolution attained its object and ended shortly afterward without the least bloodshed, in contrast to the popular uprisings in Western Europe which in 1848 cost thousands of lives and failed to accomplish their purpose completely. "I doubt," wrote Professor Felton, once President of Harvard University, "if any Constitutional Assembly ever showed more ability or patriotism, or more earnest and conscientious determination, to decide honestly upon the great questions laid before them than did the Assembly of 1843 in Athens."

The Constitution of 1843 however, was as openly violated as it had been easily granted. Being a German, the King could not see things objectively; consequently, he could not understand the psychology of the Greek people. Acting under the intrigues and the dominating personality of Queen Amelia, King Otto openly disregarded the Constitution by which he had solemnly pledged himself to abide. His arbitrary rule was deeply resented by the people, who were anxiously waiting for the opportune moment to regain their political rights. This unfortunate state of affairs lasted until 1862, when the Bavarian dynasty was ousted from Greece.

ADVENT OF GLUCKSBURG DYNASTY

The expulsion of King Otto from Greece was followed by nearly two years of political turmoil and social unrest. During this time the main topic

of conversation among the Greeks was the question of finding a new ruler. Scarcely any one of importance at this time thought of establishing a republic. The first choice, which fell on Prince Alfred, second son of Queen Victoria of England, was due to political expediency, for the installation of an English Prince as King of Greece would have been accompanied by the annexation of the Ionian Islands, which were still under British domination. Queen Victoria, however, prudently refused to allow her son to mount the Hellenic throne. The protecting powers, therefore, selected Prince George of Denmark, brother of the then Crown Princess Alexandra of England, to be King of the Hellenes. In 1864 King George I. arrived in Greece and began his long reign, which was to last for nearly fifty years.

During the reign of King George I. Greece suffered defeats and humiliations which resulted in political crises, but the question of abolishing the monarchy was never officially and seriously discussed. The only republican symptom we find in the annals of the reign of King George I. was in 1885, when a group of five men, including the late Demetrius Rhalles, united and styled themselves as "republicans." But Mr. Rhalles served the crown more than once as Prime Minister and in other official capacities.

The cry of the Military League which revolted against the crown in 1909 was "Down with the dynasty, but long live the monarchy!" It is true that the royal princes were expelled from Greece, and had it not been for Venizelos, King George I. himself would have followed them into exile, but he would certainly have been replaced by another monarch, probably by the Italian Duke of Abruzzi, whose candidacy for the Greek throne was seriously considered throughout Greece. Owing to the prudence and moderation of Mr. Venizelos, however, the rule of the Glücksburgs was prolonged by another fourteen years.

After his assassination at Saloniki, in 1913, King George I. was succeeded by his son, the late King Constantine. During the first two years of his reign Con-

stantine is said to have been the most popular monarch in Europe. This popularity was mainly due to the important rôle he played in the Balkan wars of 1912-13, during which he acted as Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army; to the fact that he had been born in Greece and had been brought up in the Orthodox Church, and to the recently created superstition that under the reign of a Constantine and a Sophia the Greeks would regain Constantinople and would restore the old Byzantine Empire.

Under these circumstances scarcely any one would have dared even to dream of a republic in 1914 and 1915. The question now arises: What were the formative factors of the republican movement which in a few years spread so astonishingly throughout Greece and brought about the creation of the Republican Party, which has recently so peacefully, yet definitely, rid the nation of the Glücksburg dynasty?

The logical answer to this question is that the republican movement was the result of the World War and that the creation of the Republican Party now in power in Greece was due to the arbitrary methods of ruling followed by the late King Constantine and his favored politicians. All this may be true on the surface, but if one should look deeper into the subject one would find that Eleutherios Venizelos was the source and inspiration of the present republican triumph.

It is true that on the arrival of M. Venizelos in Greece in 1910, contrary to expectations, he insisted—and successfully—that the newly elected National Assembly should be “revisionary” instead of “constituent,” as had previously been planned by the leaders of the Military League. His object was to save the dynasty and to prevent political complications which, at that time, would have been fatal to Greece. Being surrounded by monarchies on all sides, a Greek republic in 1910 would have become the object of suspicion and distrust on the part of its neighbors. Hence Venizelos tried not only to save the monarchy but even to strengthen the position of the dynasty, so that ultimately it might become a leader of and a source of inspi-

ration to the Greek people. With a tenacity characteristic of all his undertakings, he carried out his plan, much to his own detriment and to the ruin of his country.

In order to strengthen the dynasty and to maintain friendly relations with the neighboring and other European courts, Mr. Venizelos showered on King Constantine all the laurels of the victories won in the Balkan wars of 1912-13. It is not my intention to dispute the military reputation of the late King of the Hellenes, but according to reports of competent military authorities and of distinguished statesmen, Constantine did not deserve all the honors bestowed upon him. He was the nominal Commander-in-Chief of the Greek forces and the operations were undertaken in his name, but the campaigns were planned by the master minds of the Greek General Staff, the most distinguished members of which were General Danglis, Colonel Dousmanis and Captains Metaxas, Stratigos and Negrepontis. King Constantine was a “soldier and, perhaps, a General,” said an English expert who followed the Greek Army in the Balkan wars.

WHY CONSTANTINE WAS OVERTHROWN

Whatever rôle he may have played in the Balkan wars, however, King Constantine received all the credit of the victories won. He became the idol of the Greek soldiery and the hope of the Greek nation. Unfortunately, he was not a strong man and this popularity went to his head. He tried to arrogate all power to himself and to rule as absolute monarch. He unreasonably forced the resignation of M. Venizelos in February, 1915, and arbitrarily dismissed him in October of the same year. He is said to have openly declared to M. Venizelos at this time that he was prepared to leave the internal affairs of the country to the care of his Ministers, but that so far as the foreign affairs of the nation were concerned he considered “himself alone responsible before God for their direction.” Venizelos realized his blunder in dealing with the dynasty, but he was too big a man not to try to correct it. His prompt reply was: “You

are enunciating the principle of the divine right of kings, with which we had nothing to do in Greece. Your father was freely elected by the Greek people to be their King and you are his successor. There is no divine right in that title. Everything depends on the mandate of the people." This was the first sudden and bold appearance of the republic. The second and most threatening one was a few weeks later in the Chamber of Deputies when, in reply to a Deputy asking if he [Venizelos] thought the King intended to ruin the country, M. Venizelos declared that "our country is a pure democracy presided over by a King who has no right to interfere with the public liberties."

These statements of M. Venizelos caused a great sensation in official circles and the question of royal prerogatives began to be seriously discussed by all classes of people, especially by the rising intellectuals. Had King Constantine been keen enough to understand the popular mind, he would have changed his political tactics, reached an understanding with Venizelos, and checked the rising antipathy against the dynasty as well as against the monarchy. Unfortunately for the Glücksburg family, yielding to the influence of his wife, who was sister of the former Kaiser, and to a group of military monarchists and unprincipled politicians, he insulted M. Venizelos, aggravated the Liberal Party and caused them to revolt in 1916. The success of the revolution of Saloniki; the promptness with which Constantine was ousted from Greece in 1917; the great military and political achievements of Greece under Venizelos from 1917-1920, and the democratic idea which kept on invading the country from abroad, especially from the refugees and from the Greeks of America, contributed to the discredit of the dynasty and to the downfall of the monarchy. King Constantine's return and his second exile and death in Italy; his succession by his son, ex-King George, and the recent exile of this last representative of the dynasty, complete the royalist cycle in Greece.

Greece is now a republic and the new

régime is supported by all the distinguished Greek statesmen, including M. Venizelos himself, who, because of ill-health, was unable to accept the Premiership. M. Papanastasiou, the founder of the Republican Party and the first Prime Minister of republican Greece, is a man of broad vision and of wide political experience. He served with distinction as Minister of Communications under M. Venizelos for nearly ten years. The backbone of the Republican Party, however, is the Military League, without the influence of which the establishment of the republic would have been very doubtful. On account of this influence people abroad, especially in America, seem to hesitate in dealing with the new republic. This attitude is unjustifiable in view of the fact that a military party in Greece is not what it may be in Germany, Spain or Russia, for the Greek officer is just as democratic as his fellow-citizens. If he is interested in politics, he is interested in it not for the sake of militarism but for the sake of politics itself, which is a passion with all Greeks. As soon as the crisis is over the Military League will automatically dissolve itself and the officers will return to their respective duties. To substantiate this statement it will suffice to refer to the Military League of 1909, which dissolved itself soon after the advent of M. Venizelos to power and the restoration of normal conditions throughout the country. I may refer also to the revolution of 1922, at the end of which Colonel Plastiras, the Cincinnatus of modern Greece, peacefully and gladly turned the Government over to the properly elected representatives of the Greek people and retired to private life.

In view of these facts, therefore, foreign nations, especially England and America, need not fear military dictatorship in Greece. If they sincerely wish that democracy be firmly established in Greece; if they wish peace and tranquillity restored in that unhappy country; if they actually wish to help in the solution of the embarrassing refugee problem, they must take the initiative in dealing with the new republic.

The New Woman of Turkey

By BEATRICE HILL OGILVIE*

A well-known writer on Turkey

*It needs not, therefore, that I swear by the
sunset redness,*

And by the night and its gatherings,

*And by the moon when at her full, that
from state to state shall ye be surely
carried onward.*

—Koran, Sura lxxxiv.

DESPITE all differences of opinion among the Turks themselves regarding the status of Turkish women today, especially of the new type of feminist leaders and reformers that has developed under the republic, the advent of an era of feminine progress in Turkey is an irrefutable and significant fact.

Straws of opinion show which way the wind of affairs is blowing in Turkey. Both condemnation and approval have been aroused by a group of women who are petitioning the National Assembly to revise marriage and divorce laws and to abolish polygamy. Their memorandum for the revision of these vital laws is in the hands of the President, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and his associates, and decision should be rendered within the next few months. Reactionaries are aghast at this bold step, but even the most antagonistic must listen to such a plea because the ear of the republic is open to all; at least this is the ideal which these pioneers in Turkish democracy are struggling to attain.

Yet, though these progressive women are courageously working to secure more modern marriage and divorce laws, the majority of Turkish women are still fettered by customs evolved since Mohammed first commanded: "Speak to thy wives and to thy daughters and to the wives of the faithful, that they let their veils fall low." (Sura 33.)

Any one conversant with the Koran, the work of Mohammed, knows that it condones polygamy and puts the reins

of divorce into the hands of the man. Judged by the standards of his time, the Prophet was a radical when he limited the number of legitimate wives to four. Students of his time say that polygamy was practiced on such a scale that had he dared to abolish plural marriage his followers would have deserted him. His restricting decree was a necessary compromise with an evil system so firmly embedded that only time could remove it.

According to tradition, the Prophet himself did not practice what he preached. Estimates as to the number of his legitimate wives vary from nine to fifteen. Taken as a whole and judged impartially, there is abundant proof that Mohammed desired to elevate the position of women. In Sura IV., famous for its precepts on marriage and divorce, he said: "Men are superior to women on account of the qualities God hath gifted one above the other, and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them." Probably to the women of that day this was kindly appraisal. Again, in the same Sura, the Prophet commands: "Reverence the wombs that bare you." And, again, he said: "Maintain them, therewith, and clothe them and speak to them with kindly speech." In a day when camels were sometimes more prized than women this pronouncement required the courage of a true reformer.

The Koran abounds in stipulations concerning divorce. The men were exhorted to deal most considerately with

*Mrs. Ogilvie has been a close student of Turkish affairs since the rise of the Angora Government. She went to Turkey in November, 1923, and remained there until March, 1924, studying the new conditions in Constantinople and Angora. She enjoyed unusual opportunities, being brought into close contact with Mustapha Kemal Pasha and Halide Hanoum, with leading officials and prominent educators. She has published many articles on Turkey, both in the United States and in Europe, where she permanently resides.



Ismail Hakkî Bey, President of Stamboul University, Constantinople, and a group of women students

women at that time, to pay their dowry and to "put them not from their homes, nor allow them to depart, unless they have committed a proven adultery." Custom, however, has made almost any trivial cause sufficient ground for a man to divorce a wife. It has made him the owner of the power to divorce. He may rid himself of a wife by merely saying before two witnesses: "I divorce you." Then, if he wishes, he may marry her again for a second time, divorce her by the same simple process, marry her a third time and divorce her. But before he marries her a fourth time, she must have been married, if only for one day, to some other man and then divorced. If a husband chooses, he may indulge in a cubic divorce process by saying before two witnesses: "I divorce you with three divorces."

"But can *she* divorce *him*?" I asked a well-known Turkish woman leader in the movement for emancipation for women. "Not in the same convenient way," was the reply. "In 1916 a new family law was passed permitting women to have a marriage contract with stipulations for divorce privileges and

payment or alimony, but few women took advantage of this law. Those who had a contract with the divorce privilege included had to wait two years after marriage before saying: "I divorce you." Prior to 1916 a woman could go to court and struggle to obtain a divorce, but the process was so difficult and embarrassing that few attempted it."

This 1916 law made a medical examination necessary, but prejudice and the scarcity of women doctors limited its enforcement. It also decreed that a marriage should be announced three weeks before its consummation. In spite of the obstacles in the way of its enforcement, the new law marked a milestone in the liberation of women. It stimulated forward-looking men and women to challenge the right of the status quo. But opposition grew steadily and in 1920 the Ferid Pasha Government abolished it. Since that time old customs have struggled for reassertion, but once ideas are born they do not die easily. The National Assembly discussed the divorce custom during the Winter session (1923-24). The Liberals



Halidé Hanoum (wife of Dr. Adnan Bey, the Turkish statesman). She is a leader of the group petitioning the National Assembly at Angora for the revision of the existing divorce laws and the abolition of polygamy

tought to improve the 1916 law and to re-establish it; the Conservatives wanted to modify it stringently.

FEMININE LEADERS DEMAND REFORMS

Meanwhile about 500 intellectual women, led by Halidé Hanoum, were silently organizing to urge even greater reforms. Halidé Hanoum, wife of the Turkish statesman, Dr. Adnan Bey, is noted as the first Turkish graduate of Constantinople College (an American institution famous for educational enterprise in the Near East), as a fervent patriot and as one of New Turkey's most brilliant and progressive women. This group studied the Moslem law; they read carefully the laws governing marriage and divorce in Sweden, England, France, Czechoslovakia and America, weighed the social and political difficulties in Turkey, and from this melting pot of ideas they developed a petition and submitted it to the National Assembly. This remarkable document fearlessly attacked the four main questions of improvement in Turkish family life, establishment of a minimum age for marriage, improvement in the marriage formalities, enactment of more equitable divorce laws and the abolition of polygamy.

In Turkey today a girl of 9 and a boy of 12 may marry. These women propose 15 years as the minimum marriageable age for girls and 19 as a minimum for boys. This represents a compromise between the prevailing custom in the interior, where children still marry, and custom in the cities, where marriages now seldom occur before the twenties. The religious commission known as the Sheriat, before it ceased to exist (March, 1924), read this recommendation and accepted 15 years as a minimum for girls, but reduced the minimum for boys to 18 years. Obviously, this practice of

child marriages, bred in the desert where maturity comes early, is an anachronism in the climatic range of present-day Turkey.

As to the form of marriage, these leaders ask announcement of contemplated marriages, registry of marriages and the re-establishment of medical certificates of health. They reason that the enforcement of medical examination should be easier now, because women doctors are becoming more plentiful. Such women as Dr. Safié Ali of the American Hospital at Constantinople are proving that women can master this science. This year another brilliant Turkish woman, Bedrié Shukri, was a candidate for a degree in medicine at Munich, and there were several women graduates in the medical department of Stamboul University. When one considers that only in 1908 did the first Normal School open its doors to women, some conception of the rapid progress of the women of Turkey may be attained.

But the supreme proof of the evolution in the status of Turkish women lies in their demand that polygamy be abolished. "Polygamy is horrible," declared the chief among these women. "It must go because it is the arch enemy to

stability in family life and, therefore, to the health and progress of our nation."

PROBLEMS OF POLYGAMY

For several years, this leader explained, plural marriages have been on the wane in the more enlightened communities. Even the recently deposed Caliph had only two wives and the majority of educated Turks have only one. In the interior, where women work in the fields, polygamy is largely a matter of economic expediency; the more wives, the more hands to tend the crops. But it is now generally admitted that wherever polygamy exists it breeds conflict, jealousy and injustice and restricts opportunities for the children.

It is admitted that the abolition of polygamy may reduce the birth rate, but it is declared that this will be more than compensated for by a reduction in the neglect of children. "It is not how many children are born, but how many survive, that counts," said this feminist leader. "It is true that Turkey is depopulated, but as we increase our numbers we must multiply their opportunities. That is the vital issue." "Isn't it likely that the abolition of polygamy will increase the number of illegitimate children?" I asked. "All children are legitimate in Turkey; all inherit equally," was the calm rejoinder. "But how about your great excess of women in Turkey? What is to become of them?" "That problem is almost universal, isn't it?" she observed thoughtfully. "Our women will have to face it by seeking other channels of interest and of service to the State just as women are doing in other countries."

The abolition of polygamy naturally necessitates greater restrictions in divorce and more equal distribution of this power. Otherwise, the men of Turkey are likely to substitute a process of progressive marriages for that of plural wives. In order to prevent this succession of marriages and to supplement divorce control, the reformers propose to limit the number of marriages to three. Heretofore, man has practically owned the divorce right. The women do not want to leave it in the

hands of the men, or to give back the privilege of easy divorce to women as in the law of 1916. They advocate, instead, a special court to determine the causes of divorce according to the spirit of the Moslem law. Appeals for divorce would be made before this court by both sexes. But whether even the most liberal men will agree to the publicity involved in this procedure is doubtful. If this measure is adopted, there remains the vast problem of enforcement, which is all but insurmountable in the conservative villages of the interior, where women are not infrequently kept under lock and key. Among the nomads, by a strange anomaly, such reforms are little needed. Here women are on an equal plane with men, polygamy almost never occurs and divorce is considered a disgrace.

TOWARD FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

These broad issues of reform in family life are absorbing so much of the time and energy of Turkish women that the question of equal suffrage is of minor importance. Events are moving so swiftly, however, that the power to



Mufideh Hanoum, wife of Ferid Bey, Turkish Minister of the Interior

vote is likely to come as unexpectedly as the abolition of the Caliphate. Permission to organize a political party for women was recently asked, but refused. Later, women Deputies will no doubt be elected to the National Assembly, because the law does not stipulate the sex of the representative. The fact that some of the women patriots have already received votes shows that the hour of their entry into politics is approaching.

Women own or control a good share of the property in Turkey. They retain possession of their property after marriage, a right which is denied women in many other countries proud of the generous attitude toward women. A woman inherits one-eighth of the husband's property when he dies and there is no such thing as a divorce without compensation. Ravages of the recent wars left a crop of widows in control of property and pensions. But tax obligations bear equally on both sexes and justice demands that both share the responsibilities of the ballot.

Those who watch the swift march of events both in Constantinople and Angora are amazed at the swiftness of the development. Progress before the Young Turk revolution of 1908 had been slow and its results obscure. European ideas of dress are said to have penetrated the harems of the Sultan about fifty years ago through the influence of European wives. Leading ladies of the land wore dresses of Parisian cut, but kept them carefully hidden beneath the *feradjé*, or Turkish coat. Unveiled faces were seen for the first time in Constantinople in 1908, following the first revolution. For the first time some of the more progressive women dared to ride in the same carriage with their husbands, instead of trailing along behind, closely swathed



A sylvan scene in the grounds of the Woman's College, Constantinople, showing a glimpse of the Bosphorus and the Asiatic coast

in veils, in a closed carriage. Until a few years ago all Turkish women took their recreation chiefly with each other. Then came the lure of the "movies" and some of the more daring ventured forth in the company of their husbands. Today, though unbroken lines of fezzes are seen in the theatres, there is an ever-growing percentage of tidy, swathed heads of Turkish women. One still looks in vain for a Turkish woman in the coffee houses of Stamboul, where men smoke the *nargileh* and play cards and chess, but in the European cafés there is now a sprinkling of Turkish women.

Today in Angora the chic modern wives of the members of the Grand National Assembly, headed by Latifé Hanoum, the accomplished and progressive wife of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, dress in European garb, visit the movies

with their husbands and have their "at homes."

The march of progress is continuous. Constantinople awoke one morning in January of the present year to the realization that the harem-division in the tramways had been abolished. A cry of amazed protest rose from the conservatives. Still thinking of the days when women were veiled, screened and protected from direct contact with strange men, it was impossible for them to conceive of Turkish women riding about the streets of Constantinople unshielded by the curtain which divided the interior of the car into two sections. No doubt some of the same old patriarchs led a similar chorus of objection a dozen years ago, when the wooden partition which constituted the harem in the horse-drawn tramcars was replaced by the swinging curtain of red felt.

Some students of Turkish custom who realize the thick wall of convention that hems in the Turkish woman on all sides declare that it will continue impregnable, especially in conservative village and small-town life; but even they agree that the ultimate result will de-

pend on improvements in communication and educational facilities. The spreading of the cinema habit is pointed out as one great force that will increasingly lure the Turkish woman out of the fastnesses of the home.

The changing status of women is nowhere more apparent than in the mosques. Screened galleries are still there, but the women who envelop themselves in the charshaff and pèche and "let their veils fall low" frequently prefer to sit at prayer in some inconspicuous niche on the main floor. None of them, however, venture to join the mass of men in the centre, whose red fezzen light up the gloomy splendor of such a mosque as St. Sophia. At the last public appearance of the recently deposed Caliph I saw eight women of the old order mumbling prayers and listening to the solemn chanting of the Koran behind a great stone pillar which cut off their view completely when the Caliph arrived in all the pomp of his medieval regalia.

Turkish women certainly are being "carried on from state to state," for their interests and activities are constantly



Turkish girls studying for the degree of Bachelor of Science at the Stamboul University, Constantinople, with one of the professors and men students



A class in agriculture at the Woman's College, Constantinople

widening. They are gradually becoming a factor in business, in professions and, indirectly, in politics. They are competing for positions, especially in banks, post offices and embassies, and are holding them with credit. Others who do not care to earn money are serving the cause of advancement in Turkey by acting as voluntary guides for tourists. Typical of the leaders in this social service is Sabiha Djenani, the daughter of Ali Djenani, a member of the National Parliament. As a graduate of Constantinople College and an accomplished linguist, she is particularly well equipped to disseminate accurate information.

Naturally, it is the more educated girls who are emboldened to seek a career. Constantinople College, under the guidance of Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, is a great liberating influence. Since 1890 this far-seeing woman and her able staff have patiently toiled to equip the new woman in Turkey with knowledge, courage and vision. Their efforts are rewarded by girls such as Sabiha

Djenani, who offer their services freely for the advancement of the State, and by women of affairs such as Halidé Hanoum, who, when occasion demanded, did not hesitate to urge reform measures from the streets of Stamboul. From the confines of the harem to the public forum is a far cry and a long step toward participation in public affairs.

But the women have won even a greater victory. They have penetrated the University of Stamboul and are now competing for degrees on an equal footing with men. In this co-educational institution there are women students in science, literature and law. In the academic year of 1924 there were three women candidates for degrees in law who had spent four years in mastering the complexities of this subject.

"What are your plans for practicing your profession?" I asked Sureya Agaïeff, one of these three and the daughter of a member of the National Assembly. "First, we must obtain a permit and then we will begin," she an-



Sabiha Djenani (daughter of Ali Djenani, a member of the Turkish National Assembly), a graduate of the Woman's College, Constantinople, and a leader in the Volunteer Guide Society of Constantinople

swered with the fearless and confident voice of the new woman of Turkey.

There is one great factor in favor of these pioneer women. There is a new man in Turkey who is looking at these women with new eyes of respect. This fact struck me as I watched the women students of the university promenading back and forth with the men between classes discussing on terms of equality and comradeship their mutual interests.

CHALLENGE TO TURKISH REPUBLIC

Coeducation alone shows how far the women have advanced since the year of the revolution, 1908. Equipped with their diplomas, these graduates in law, medicine, literature and the sciences will shortly stand ready to take advantage of the opportunities for women in the

Turkish Republic. They are a challenge to the new Turkish Government, which is struggling bravely to convert nebulous theories of equality into reality. That such women will not content themselves with the restrictions of deportment and activity welded by custom and law is a foregone conclusion. If they study and work shoulder to shoulder with men they will soon be benefiting by equal social privileges and rights. Yet this road, too, needs time to level its obstructions.

Recent wars have already weakened the barriers to mutual understanding. Women threw their energies into the needs of the Red Crescent [the Turkish Red Cross] and nursed their wounded in the hospitals. In the interior, when transportation facilities were inadequate women tramped after the armies with supplies. At home they filled in



Saimah Mamoud, a student of medicine at the Woman's College, Constantinople



The first three women to graduate in law at the Stamboul University (from left to right): Mehlahit Shaban, Sureya Agaieff (daughter of Ahmed Agaieff Bey of the National Assembly) and Behdia Ali

the gap in daily living left by the men. When their contribution to winning a crucial war bulked so large, is it any wonder that Mustapha Kemal Pasha, leader on the battlefield and organizer of the new republic, should champion their progress?

Some Turks there are, it is true, trained under the old régime, who condemn the new woman of Turkey. "The republic is spoiling the women," one Government official said to me. "The Prophet established the position of women and they should be kept to it. These feminists are a disgrace to our religion and a misfit in our system of life." This is the attitude of the "old Turk"—the attitude of the entrenched reactionary. A new viewpoint, however, is arising among Turkish men. "The republic is

developing a new Turkish woman, a type more in keeping with our modern needs," a member of the Grand National Assembly told me.

If the republic survives, the new men in Turkey will gradually clear the path for the new woman. If she wants polygamy abolished or divorce regulated, eventually she will get such reforms; if she wants to enter the professional or political arena on equal terms with men, she will ultimately win the fulfillment of that desire. Improved educational opportunities is the crying need of Turkey. The jungle of ignorance must be cleared for the planting of republican ideals. And the sooner the strength of the women is disseminated throughout the arteries of the nation, the sooner will this end be achieved.



Chinese Labor's First Efforts for Reform.

By W. T. ZUNG

Member National Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association
of China

INTEREST in labor conditions in China has been stimulated during recent months by the vigorous activities of a reform movement initiated by influential Chinese and foreign social societies. Public attention has thus been focused upon a situation of which little is known in the Occident. The position of China with respect to her working class is unique. Oldest among civilized nations, she is today among the youngest in economic development, for the industrial life of the nation is scarcely fifty years old. Legislation not having kept pace with swiftly changing conditions, there is no adequate legal protection of the workers. Low wages, lack of hygienic facilities in factories, an extremely long work-day and a prevalence of child labor constitute the chief basis of complaint. Modification, if not elimination, of these ills is the goal of the reform movement, which has already made considerable progress in this direction. Outstanding among the early accomplishments of the campaign was the appointment in Hong-kong last January of a "protector of working children." This official is empowered to supervise and investigate the conditions under which children toil.

Factories in China are conducted in utter disregard of the health of the workers. The employes—men, women and children alike—labor extremely long hours. In establishments in which the processes are carried on continuously a two-shift system, twelve hours each, is generally adopted. Shifts usually change every ten days, and when these changes occur each worker has to work eighteen consecutive hours. One day's rest in seven is known to a few who happen to work in establishments where conditions are exception-

ally good. In factories where there is no night work—silk spinneries, for example—a fourteen-hour day without a weekly day of rest is not uncommon. Meal hours are an unknown luxury to most of the factory workers; they snatch their cold food while they work. The following demands made by the silk workers throw some light on the subject:

- 1—That the workers have two days of rest every month.
- 2—That the working day be reduced to ten hours, exclusive of time for meals and for feeding the babies in arms who are taken to work by their mothers.
- 3—That unreasonable fines be abolished.
- 4—That ill-treatment of workers be prohibited.

The word "home" means much to an Occidental, but it means infinitely more to a Chinese, the family spirit being very strong in Chinese society. This spirit, unfortunately, has been more or less crushed by the introduction of the modern industrial system. Thousands of women have left their villages for crowded industrial centres, where they are gainfully employed, but where they also live the life of slaves. Insanitary, filthy slums have grown up around the factories. Because of the long hours of labor women have no time to attend to household duties or to take care of their children. Since there is no provision for protecting mothers, the health of the married women workers is often impaired. This neglect is general throughout China. In modern factories, for the most part, the health and welfare of the workers is completely ignored. Overcrowding, bad ventilation, high temperature and insanitary conditions are often found; suitable seats, dining rooms, first aid, rest rooms, or sanitary washrooms are unheard-of luxuries; and not infrequently accidents

are caused by the lack of protective equipment on the machinery.

The apprenticeship system prevails both in the old trades and in the semi-modern workshops. This system, as practiced in several large cotton mills in North China, is particularly reprehensible. Thousands of boys from eight to eleven years of age are taken in as apprentices for a term of three years. These children are given food, clothing and shelter, and a sort of wage, too small to be counted as such. They work twelve-hour shifts, night and day, with no weekly day of rest. At the end of the term they are turned out and a new lot taken in.

The fact that there are many people in China perpetually on the border of starvation keeps down the standard of wages in the factories. There is absolutely no fear of shortage of labor; when any one refuses to work for the wage which seems too low to him there is always some one else willing to take his place. There are, for the most part, no minimum wage system, collective bargaining, savings, pensions or insurance schemes—a deficiency which intensifies the suffering of the employes.

REMEDIES NOW BEING SOUGHT

Although the general public in China is indifferent to the conditions prevalent in the majority of the factories, there are groups of people who take a different attitude. Among these groups are the workers themselves, students and college professors, women's organizations and the Church. All are working to remedy the existing conditions. The employes themselves have expressed their discontent very emphatically. During the last four years strikes have become common. Aside from the partial success of the seamen's strike in the early Spring of 1922 the persistent agitation of the women in the silk spinneries of Shanghai deserves particular mention. After the failure to get their employers to concede their demands these women sought the help of both the Civil Governor and the Provincial Assembly of Kiangsu. They then formed a union; this body, however,

has never been recognized by the employers. At the Silk Employers' Guild meeting recently the employers resolved to exert their full power to crush the union.

On the whole, the workers of China feel themselves in a new position. They begin to see that they do not belong in the same camp as their employers, and there are many signs of the awakening of class consciousness. Labor unions are not encouraged, however, except in the South, where they have been legalized by the Government. The strongest unions are the Seamen's Union, the Machinists' Union and the Railway Workers' Union. Nearly all kinds of workers in Canton and Hongkong are organized. There is, however, no national Federation of Labor. This lack is due chiefly to the confused politics, military rule and the antagonisms in various sections of the country.

Great interest in the labor movement has been shown by the students of China. During recent years students in the larger cities have celebrated the first of May and have delivered lectures to the workers on the significance of that day. In Canton May 1 was the occasion this year of parades in which workers, students and sympathizers participated. Social organizations also cooperate in the task of improving the conditions of labor in China. The Young Women's Christian Association in June, 1921, made a study of industrial conditions in typical centres to equip it with the knowledge which would best enable it to serve both employers and employes. The association also was responsible for the agitation as a result of which China appointed representatives to both the Second and Third International Congresses of Working Women. The joint committee of the social service departments of Y. W. C. A., Shanghai Women's Club, American Women's Club and the British Women's Association in Shanghai has been agitating for the protection of factory children in the Settlement. The executive body of the Municipal Council was approached by this group, with the result that a Child Labor Commission was appointed by the Council. This

commission has been holding weekly meetings since June, 1923, and has framed a number of constructive recommendations.

THE CHURCH AND LABOR

In 1921, when plans began to take shape for the holding of the National Christian Conference, the late Miss Grace Coppock, then General Secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association of China, proposed that the Church should meet its responsibility for the welfare of the workers. The proposal was accepted and a subcommittee was appointed to report on "the Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems." On May 10, 1922, a labor standard recommended by the subcommittee was unanimously endorsed as follows:

The Church, recognizing the need for a labor standard for China, endorses the setting as a goal of the standard adopted at the First International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, but in view of the difficulty of immediate application of this standard to the industrial situation in China, it urges that the following standard be adopted and promoted by the Church for application now: (a) No employment of children under 12 years of age; (b) one day's rest in seven; (c) the safeguarding of the health of workers, e. g., limiting working hours, improvement of sanitary conditions and installation of safety devices.

On Dec. 1 and 2 a conference with Sherwood Eddy was called by the subcommittee on "the Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems." A recommendation to the following effect was passed by the conference:

Inasmuch as effective influence on public opinion and legislation can be exercised only by a united Christian movement, we urge strongly the organization of all Christian agencies in a centre including the local churches, colleges, inter-church federations, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. in such a way that they shall be able to act and speak unitedly on local social and industrial problems. Furthermore, we believe that every effort should be made to enlist the cooperation in each centre of all persons interested in the carrying out of such a program.

Out of this December conference there came the following results:

- 1—The Industrial Committee was enlarged and three people were allocated to part time work as a secretariat for the committee.
- 2—Industrial church groups were organized in Canton, Changsha, Chefoo, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Tsinan and Wuchang.
- 3—To meet the growing number of re-

quests for information and advice which began to pour in to the Central Committee, a carefully planned series of leaflets, bulletins and letters was sent out.

4—The church labor standard was officially endorsed by the Boards of Directors of the Tientsin and Chefoo Y. M. C. A. organizations, the National Committee and local boards of the Y. W. C. A. in Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking, the Kiangsu Synod of the Episcopal Church and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Chefoo and Peking.

ACTION BY PROTESTANT COUNCIL

In May, 1923, the National Christian Council, which unites the Protestant agencies at work in China, appointed a Commission on Church and Industry. This commission on Sept. 11, 1923, recommended that the council utilize every means to promote the standards adopted by the National Christian Conference in May 1922; to coordinate activities of various organizations in the seventeen local centres for the betterment of industrial and social conditions or relationships; to advise centres where experiments are being made for a better social order, and to take immediate steps toward establishing a centre or centres for social and industrial research. When the Association of Christian Colleges and Universities met on Feb. 5-7, 1924, in Nanking the section on sociology and economics recommended that Christian colleges and universities undertake the training of social workers; look forward to establishing an institute of research and in the meantime cooperate with other agencies that conduct social surveys, if any; create public opinion on social and industrial problems, and consider whether steps should be taken to bring together those interested in sociology and economics in a scientific society.

A committee was appointed by the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council to carry out the work planned by the commission. In October, 1923, the National Christian Council appealed to all the national Christian organizations for cooperation in a unified effort to secure a Christian industrial order. At the invitation of the National Christian Council Dame Adelaide Anderson, late Chief Woman Inspector of Factories of Great Britain, came to China in December, 1923.

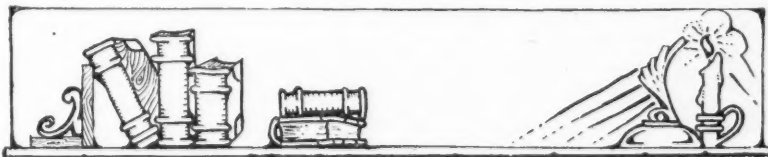
Since her arrival she has been interviewing both employers and workers, visiting factories in various cities, and advising the Child Labor Commission as well as the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council. She also has lectured on factory inspection and factory legislation. On Jan. 7, 1924, the Commission on Church and Industry decided to continue its work of education, with a view to holding a National Council of Church and Industry in 1926.

The Chinese Government has been represented at the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations every year, and at each session its representatives have given some sort of a report, although they may not know very much of the real condition of labor. Because of the discontent among the workers the Peking Government, through the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, promulgated in March, 1923, two sets of regulations, one for miners, the other for the factory workers. Although far from satisfactory, they serve as a move toward the solution of the problems. The social workers are making every effort to see that these regulations be observed. There is no doubt that modern industry has come to China to stay. Since the evils of the new system are still comparatively young, China has yet time to make modern industry a blessing, not a curse, to her millions of people.

Nevertheless, it has to be recognized

that experience of industrialism so far teaches a grim lesson. Every country that has so far started out on the road of developing its resources by means of machinery and the other devices of modern invention and business organization has had to suffer conditions that were, for the masses of the people, worse than the preceding epoch when industry was carried on by hand and there were no factories. In the first phase of Chinese industrial development, as we have seen, the conditions of the new industrial working class are appalling, and but for the efforts of a comparatively mere group of humane and enlightened men and women there would be no protest at all nor any movement to remedy flagrant wrongs.

This view of Chinese industrialism is no doubt pessimistic, and perhaps one should not discount the effect that must ultimately be felt in China of the worldwide tendency to improve the conditions of the toiling masses. Inevitably also industrial development will bring into existence the organizations which elsewhere the workers have created for their protection—trade unions, labor and Socialist parties and so forth; and thus organized the Chinese working class will secure whatever advantages have accrued from the use of similar methods in other countries. For good or ill, despite the backwardness of centuries, China, too, is becoming a modern nation and her people must face the economic and social problems which are inherent in modern civilization.



Korea in the Grip of Japan

By NEVIN O. WINTER

Author of "Poland of Today and Yesterday."

IF Japan continues to dominate Korea, that name, as well as that of Seoul, the capital, will disappear from our geographies. The Japanese overlords always refer to the country as Chosen, and they have renamed the capital Keijo. They claim that the word Seoul—pronounced almost as if it were spelled "sowl"—simply means capital and that Keijo is the proper designation. Japan annexed Korea in 1910, and it is now thoroughly under the control of that ambitious island empire. It is half as large as the country of its rulers and possesses a population exceeding 17,000,000. The Japanese defend their annexation of Korea ingeniously and, figuratively, weep over her unfortunate fate. As evidence of this I quote from an official Japanese publication:

The annexation of one country by another, whatever may be the reason for it, is an event tragical in the highest degree. In the case of Korea it was effected most peaceably, with no bloodshed attending it, but no person with a sympathetic heart could see a nation thus passing away without tears, and this sympathy was felt by the Japanese as keenly as any other people. * * * Only yesterday Korea was the weakest and feeblest country in the world, powerless, nerveless and cursed by all. Today it is part of a strong power. It is true, as a nation she will cease to exist, but her people will exist, thrive and prosper under one of the best Governments in the world.

Legend carries Korean history back to a period coeval with that of China. It was certainly making history a thousand years before Christ was born. The peninsula was for a long time divided into the three kingdoms of Kokuryu, Pakjeh and Silla, each ruled over by a petty monarch. This was the situation during the first ten centuries of the Christian era. Some of the rulers were almost inconceivably bad, working only for the woe of their subjects. These were sanguinary years of internecine strife and foreign invasion by Chinese, Mongols and Japanese. A hundred

years before Columbus discovered America the house of Yi ascended the throne of a united country and ruled it until the annexation to Japan.

Korea was the bridge over which the civilization and learning passed into Japan for more than a thousand years. By this route went Buddhism, with its temples and fittings. Thither journeyed Chinese artisans, who erected the first Japanese shrines to that Indian god. The knowledge of printing and the various arts also followed this pathway into the isolated island empire.

Because of its policy of isolation, Korea was known as the "Hermit Kingdom." The Koreans endeavored to seal their country against outside influence and were even more successful than the Japanese. Those seeking admission were generally slain. Some shipwrecked Dutch sailors were enslaved in 1653 and detained for twenty-three years. The United States was the first Western nation to enter into diplomatic relations with Korea. This was in 1882, when by treaty we promised to lend our good offices should Korea be oppressed by a third power. When the occasion for this assistance afterward arose there was no response in Washington.

As its neighbors waxed strong Korea became a constant bone of contention between China and Japan. Tribute was rendered to both at various times—and sometimes contemporaneously. She was the pawn of Asia. Japan realized that any hostile nation controlling Korea "holds a dagger at Japan's throat." Russia entered the scene late in the nineteenth century and succeeded in winning the Korean Queen by flattery and adroitness. In 1895 she was treacherously murdered, an occurrence which the Koreans attribute to Japanese machinations. It is certain that some Japanese subjects were implicated in the unfortunate affair. The "Hermit King-

dom" was largely the cause of the war between China and Japan in 1895. It figures prominently in the events leading to the Russo-Japanese conflict a decade later. A protectorate was declared by Japan after her victory over the Russian bear, and formal annexation was declared on Aug. 23, 1910.

JAPANESE CRUELTY

The record of Japanese cruelty in Korea is long and bloody. A program of absorption was immediately initiated. Those who opposed it were punished. There were wholesale arrests of political offenders and suspects. There were

executions and floggings; schoolboys and young girls were shamefully beaten. Many of the charges have been admitted in Tokio. Japanese official figures place the number of killed at 631, while the general estimate is about 1,000. More than 10,000 were flogged. Several villages were burned and a number of Christian churches were destroyed. These acts aroused intense indignation among those Koreans who had not participated in the uprising and among the foreigners. The doctrine of "self-determination," of which so much was heard during the Versailles negotiations, had its reaction here. A

declaration of independence was promulgated by a body of patriots who suffered for their presumption. An active organization is maintained in Shanghai, which calls itself the Provisional Government of the Korean Republic. The writer was a fellow-passenger of General Tanaka from Manila to Hongkong on his return from a visit to Governor General Wood. When the steamer reached Shanghai two Korean patriots made an attempt on General Tanaka's life. The General was uninjured, but an American woman was killed by a badly directed shot.

Korea seems destined to remain in subjec-



Map of Korea and neighboring countries



Koreans carrying loads in a Seoul street

tion to some foreign power. If Japan had not defeated China, Korea would have remained a vassal of the latter country. If Japan had not overcome Russia, the peninsula would doubtless have passed under the control of the Slav.

The Koreans are a Mongolian people, resembling the Chinese more than the Japanese, although it would be difficult for the uninitiated to distinguish the one from the other, if the subjects under observation were dressed alike. The slanted eyes of the Japanese are missing and the forehead appears higher. The Koreans employ the Chinese characters in writing, but use their own pronunciation, which has no resemblance to that of their neighbors.

Korea is strategically located. The peninsula is about 600 miles long and possesses a coast line almost treble that in length. It corresponds to Iowa in size, exceeding England, Scotland and Wales united. In shape and geographical relation to Asia it is not unlike Florida as compared to North America. The climate resembles the temperate region of the Great Lakes. It is a land of rugged mountains, the northern ridges being densely wooded. In the south the landscape, which is almost denuded of timber, is rather bare and dreary. Probably not more than a tenth of the country is actually tilled. The intensive methods of the Japanese

farmers and their skill in reclaiming lands would add greatly to the country's productivity. The South Manchurian Railway traverses the country from Fusan to Antung; with its several feeders it has done much to open up the country. Built with standard gauge, with American style equipment, it provides the most satisfactory service of any railroad in Mongolian Asia. The island-dotted strait separating the peninsula from Japan is a trifle more than 100 miles in width. Korea is a land where poverty ought not to abound, for nature has been fairly generous in her gifts. The soil is generally productive and rain is usually sufficient. The frequent earthquakes of Japan are unknown and typhoons are rare along the coast. It has been the lack of energy on the part of the people, partly resulting from the avarice of officials and corruption of the Government as a whole, that Korea has remained so backward.

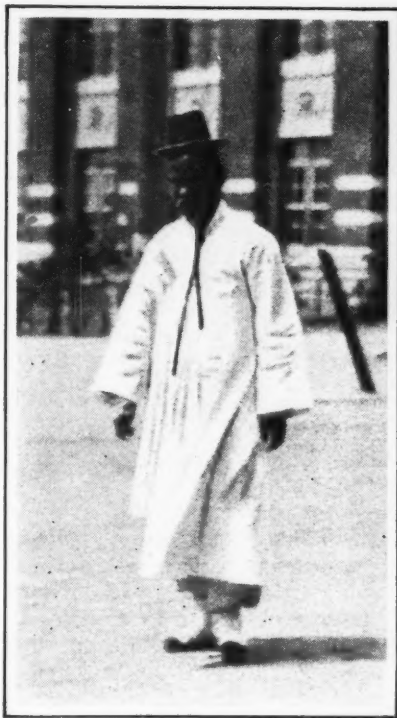
There are few of the world's capitals which have such a truly delightful location as Seoul, for it is closely surrounded by fairly lofty hills and rests in fancied security in the bottom of this bowl. In early days, before the invention of modern methods of warfare, the city was practically secure from hostile attacks. A greatly inferior body of defenders could prevent a vastly superior force from passing through the few

narrow passes that afforded entrance to the valley. Today these hills add to the grandeur and beauty of this ancient capital of the Koreans.

CURIOUS COSTUMES

Korea is a land of top-knots. Every Korean man wears a long lock of hair, which is drawn up into a tightly twisted knot on the top of his head. This ludicrous head decoration is the badge of legal manhood. Before it is worn the boy has the title of "half-man" bestowed upon him, and its investiture is one of the most important occasions in a youth's life. The ceremony is performed when a boy becomes engaged or is on the eve of being married. A small, circular spot is shaved on the top of the head, after which the remaining locks are combed smoothly upward and tied very tightly over this bare place into a compact knot. Up to this time his hair is worn down the back like a girl's. The lad is now treated with the greatest respect. Never to have been married deprives a man of the customary respect due a man. Without a top-knot he is never considered a man, regardless of his years, and he is never addressed with the high linguistic endings. With a top-knot, no matter how youthful, he assumes his place in making the prayers and offerings at the family shrines.

Both men and women are clothed in white, and it is a question whether the male or the female of the species is costumed the more ridiculously. They are rarely seen together, for the "gentleman" struts around alone or with his friends. He could not so far forget his "superiority" as to appear with a woman publicly. He wears baggy white trousers which suggest the Algerian bloomers and are tied with a string or ribbon at the ankle. Over this is a loose, white coat which reaches to the ankles and fits like a Mother Hubbard dress. The women are attired in absurd balloon skirts and little short jackets that leave exposed much of the upper part of the body. The curious little top hat of the men looks as if it might have been the original of the high silk hats worn in other countries. A



The costume of a Korean "gentleman"

transparent crinoline frame is first placed on the head. Over the topknot the transparent black hat is superimposed upon this foundation. This hat, which is tied under the chin with ribbons, is a source of ceaseless anxiety to the wearer. If rain threatens, a waxed paper cover envelops the black hat as a protection from the elements. Wooden shoes are worn on the feet and a long bamboo pipe usually projects from the man's mouth. The eyes are ornamented with huge tinted spectacles, whether they are needed or not, for the Koreans believe that the use of spectacles imparts dignity. When in mourning the Korean man wears a great hat, which resembles a huge wooden bowl turned down on the head.

There is a rather solemn dignity in the appearance of the Korean "gentlemen," whose faces are covered with sparse beard. Most of these "gentlemen" are so poor that they scarcely know where their food is coming from for the morrow. Nevertheless, they perambulate the streets with swinging

stride and hands behind the back, with an air of scholarliness and independence. Many of them were Government clerks in the days of independence; today they have been replaced by the Japanese. Their wives are the principal support of themselves and their families. The men hesitate to engage in the only occupations that remain open to them, which are those involving manual labor.

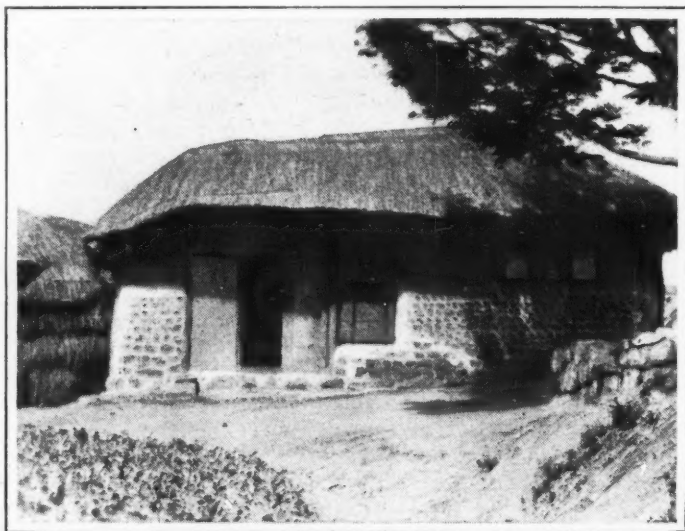
Formerly every Korean "gentleman" aspired to become an official. He showed great aptitude for getting into and remaining in office. He was a past master in intrigue. Every official received a certain amount of attention and conducted himself like a petty prince. If he was too poor to ride a donkey, he strode along the highway with such an overpowering sense of condescension that the very street seemed honored by his presence. His pride was raised if he could afford a donkey, even though the beast was so small that the rider's feet touched the ground. Whenever an official of higher rank appeared, he was compelled to become subservient immediately. If there was sufficient warning, which frequently happened from the trumpeting that accompanied a great man's approach, he would dart down a side street to save his own dignity. A high official frequently employed outrunners who went ahead ordering people to be ready to greet their master. They were sometimes equipped with paddles with which they beat any one refusing to dismount. Woe to the luckless wight who disregarded the shouts of "Pipes out!" In an instant his solace would be taken from him,

broken into pieces and his head whacked smartly. These days are long past, but not so remote that the older men do not remember them and long for their re-appearance—those at least who might aspire to the fortunate office-holding class. Today 80 per cent. of the people are absolutely illiterate.

The Koreans are fond of dog flesh, and dogs are raised extensively for the table. At first I rather doubted this, but finally asked the wife of a missionary who had lived in the country for a quarter of a century. "Yes, I am sorry to say that it is true," was her answer. "Last Summer we had two fine blooded dogs, but both disappeared in August. Now we have decided to keep only common dogs, so that the loss will not be so great. They like to cook them with certain vegetables in that month."

THE KOREAN FARMER

Eighty per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture. The Korean farmer appears to be industrious and looks serious. What does he think about? Possibly it is the weather, the crop prospects, the price of rice, how the next tax payment may be met or the marriage of his eldest son. Political questions trouble him little. He prefers



A Korean cottage

to live his life in peace and quiet. His city friends are the disquieting political element. In Seoul and the other cities industry is not greatly in evidence. There are many able-bodied men wandering about aimlessly and without any definite purpose. They have a peculiar habit of squatting on their heels, a seemingly uncomfortable position which they maintain for long periods. Under the old imperial rule the taxes were farmed out, and the rapacious officials exacted so much that there was no incentive to produce.

The life on the streets of Seoul has a character all its own. The men carry heavy loads on their backs in frames, being literally the bearers of other people's burdens. Bulls bearing great bundles of brush intended for firewood tramp patiently behind their masters. So great is the load that it is frequently difficult to find the animal underneath. Others draw wagons or carts. Nervous and vicious little ponies, mostly stallions, whose mouths are muzzled so that they cannot bite, also are used in the same way.

A Korean village resembles a vast bed of gigantic mushrooms. The roofs are either thatched or covered with tile, and the houses are never more than one story in height. Many of the hovels contain only a single room, with a shed for a kitchen. There may be one small window, and the doors for the most part are unusually low. In the roomier huts the part occupied by the women is screened from the street, and there is frequently for their use a little courtyard, which also is secluded. If the house permits, there is a men's sitting



Street scene in Seoul, the Korean capital

room open to the street or road, where male guests may be entertained. The rooms are easily heated through flues built under the stone floor by fires of twigs and brush kindled under one side of the house.

Seoul was founded almost six centuries ago and has been a capital ever since. A wall fourteen miles in length surrounds it and is so old that it is crumbling in many places. The Japanese have wrought many changes. They have constructed several broad thoroughfares which have replaced the network of narrow streets. They have also bettered the educational facilities and have built a large hospital.

The Koreans are very dissatisfied, because independence is gone and they are compelled to obey alien officials. Japanese soldiers are prominent in the railway stations. The present Governor is a diplomatic official who means well, but his predecessors were stern military men who did not consider Korean susceptibilities. As a result many unfortunate incidents have happened. Even today the mailed fist can be felt beneath the softly gloved hands of the officials. The Japanese are determined to retain sovereignty; the Koreans are just as intent upon securing freedom at some time in the future.

Settlement of International Status of Tangier

By REAR ADMIRAL A. P. NIBLACK, U. S. N. (Retired)
Director of the International Hydrographic Bureau, Monaco

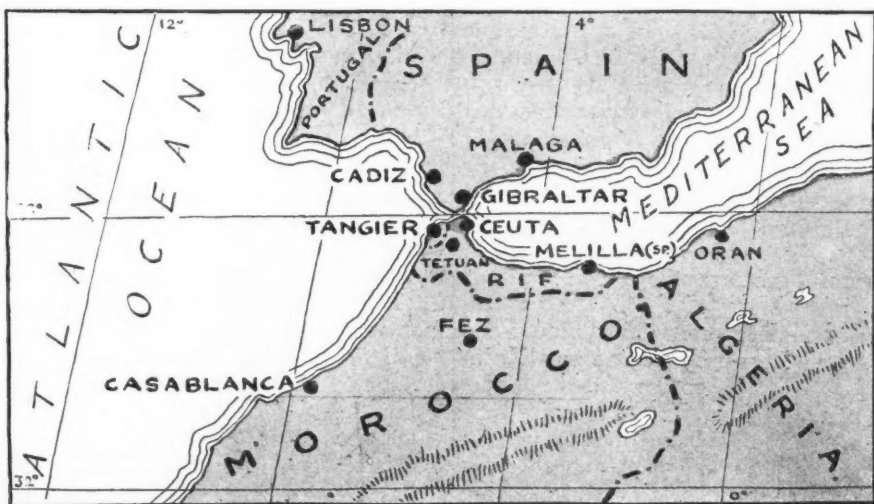
THE status of Tangier, the "International Waif," has at last been definitely settled. The Tangier Convention concluded at Paris on Dec. 18, 1923, by Great Britain, France and Spain, but not signed by Spain until Feb. 7, 1924, was ratified by all three Governments in May, 1924—willingly by Great Britain, reluctantly by France and disappointedly by Spain. Though the agreement still remains to be ratified by five other powers which were parties to the Madrid Convention of 1880 and to the Algeciras pact of 1906, the status of this international port of Morocco may now be accepted as virtually settled.

This final agreement, which is, in effect, a triumph of British diplomacy, harmonizes the conflicting interests of many countries and settles a controversy of long standing which had maintained Tangier in a state of economic distress

and political isolation and bereft it of its former importance as the leading port of Morocco.

The history of Tangier was, for a considerable period, part of the history of Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella put an end to the Moorish domination of Spain when Grenada capitulated in 1492, and by so doing achieved Spanish national unity; but they failed to follow the retreating Moors into North Africa, where conditions were so chaotic that Spain could easily have mastered the whole country from Tangier to Tunis. The discovery of America at this time turned Spanish enterprise westward. Subsequent expeditions, years later, were fruitless, except to establish "presidios" or blockhouses at Melilla, Peñon de Velez, Alhucemas and Ceuta, in the foothills of the Rif. One Spanish writer says:

These blockhouses were useless for com-



Map of Tangier and neighboring territories

merce, neglected by the home Government and continually harassed by the wild Berber tribes to within actual cannon shot of the walls, and they subsisted for over 200 years with no other importance than as a penal settlement. Tangier, the principal Moorish port in the Mediterranean, was in Spanish hands for nearly a century, but, passing to Portugal in 1656, it came into English possession in 1662 as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza on her marriage with Charles II. The importance of the place was not apparent to the English Government of those days, and after successfully resisting a prolonged siege by the Moors, it was evacuated in 1684 as too burdensome a foreign commitment.

This writer might have added that, before evacuating Tangier, the British carefully destroyed a small breakwater which they had built in 1664; and that the Moorish Sultan who made the British position untenable was the famous Moulay Ismail, second Sultan of the present dynasty, who ruled Morocco with an iron hand for fifty-five years, from 1672 to 1727. Moulay Ismail drove the Portuguese from the ports of the Atlantic Coast and reduced the Spanish possession to the few "presidios" mentioned above. In 1859 Spain again attacked Morocco to redress many grievances; an indemnity was exacted; small increases of territory were obtained around the blockhouses, and Tetuan was occupied permanently. At this point Great Britain intervened and blocked the occupation of Tangier. The further course of events is summarized by a writer in an article recently published in *El Sol*, the leading Liberal daily of Madrid:

So long as Morocco was a poor and powerless nation Gibraltar was sufficient to command the Straits, but when Morocco became a protectorate of France by virtue of the treaty of April, 1904, England needed further guarantees; first, she interposed a Spanish zone between French Morocco and the Straits; second, she prevented either of these countries from occupying Tangier; third, she saw to it that France and Spain should reach no agreement between themselves.

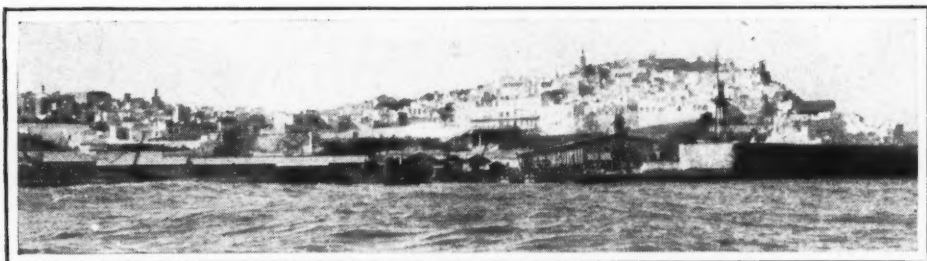
This state of affairs continued until 1912, when the three main powers interested agreed that Tangier should have "a specific status, to be decided later." This decision did not come until eleven years later; meanwhile, Tangier remained a semi-independent internationalized city, torn by the mutual jealousies of the Consular representatives of many powers. Following a conference of experts held in London, the representa-

tives of Great Britain, Spain and France finally assembled at Paris and reached the agreement of December, 1923.

TERMS OF SETTLEMENT

Under the terms of this treaty the port is to be neutralized in a military sense, but commercially the "open door" is to be maintained. For the first six years the Chief Administrator is to be a Frenchman (already nominated by the French Government), assisted by a British and a Spanish Deputy. The International Legislative Assembly of 26 members is to be composed as follows: four Frenchmen, four Spaniards, three Englishmen, two Italians, one Belgian, one Portuguese, one American, one Dutchman, three Jews and six Moslems. The three Jews and six Moslems are to be named by the Sultan of Morocco's representative, who will preside over the Assembly, as well as govern the native population and collect the taxes. The authority of the Sultan of Morocco over the Moorish population is untouched, and the creation of this international administration does away with all European "capitulations." The Committee of Control, consisting of the Consular officers of the eight powers signatories of the Algeciras pact, will see that the terms of the agreement are carried out. In the Legislative Assembly it may be assumed that the three Jews and six Moslems will act with the four Frenchmen, thus giving France thirteen, or one-half of the legislative votes. A Belgian Captain will command the local gendarmerie of 250 men. The Moroccan franc will be the local coin, with the Spanish peseta as legal tender.

The construction of the new port works is to be allotted under competitive bidding, but the concession for working the port has already been granted to an international company for a period of sixty-seven years, under a committee of control or supervision nominated by the Committee of Control. The shares in the company are at present fixed at 7,500,000 francs, but the actual cost of construction is to be met by a loan guaranteed by the Protecto-



A view of Tangier from the harbor, now an open roadstead

rate of Morocco, and the French are to have the larger portion of all the shares. The harbor works are to be completed in five years; the plans call for two breakwaters, one of 960 meters and the other of 650 meters in length, to form an inner port, with a larger harbor just outside for deep-water vessels. Provision is made for an enlargement of the port in the course of time.

After the completion of the port, the first thing we may look for is a railway line from Tangier through French Morocco, to connect at Casablanca with the broad-gauge railroad being built from that port to Dakar, and then a steamship line from Dakar to Rio Janeiro, Montevideo and Buenos Aires, making it possible to go from Paris to Rio Janeiro in ten days. Some day we may look for a channel under the Straits, with through trains from Paris to Dakar, pending which ferryboats will carry whole trains back and forth across the Straits. American enterprise would not wait long for the accomplishment of this, although it is clearly not to our commercial advantage to bring South America so much nearer to Europe than it is now. With Tangier now a free port, we should at least have an American line of steamers to Tangier, Ceuta, Oran, Algiers, Bizerta, Naples and Genoa.

A BRITISH DIPLOMATIC VICTORY

I have said that the Tangier Convention was a British diplomatic victory. This is because: (1) It internationalizes Tangier and thus keeps it from France, in whose hands it would militarily control the Straits, sterilize Gibraltar, and

threaten the route to India; (2) It guarantees the "open door" in Tangier, the natural gateway between Europe and North Africa and a port where British trade is second only to Franco-Algerian; (3) It pledges many countries to the maintenance of the neutrality of Tangier in case of war.

The reaction of Spain to the final settlement was one of bitter disappointment. General Primo de Rivera, Premier and military dictator of Spain, held out for some time for Spanish control over the natives of the Spanish zone in Tangier and for enlarged Spanish participation in the city's administration, particularly in the matter of customs. Spain's disappointment is comprehensible, for she might have obtained possession of Tangier on several occasions, not only without the opposition, but with the encouragement of the powers, whereas her recent vociferous claims to Tangier were coldly received by both France and Great Britain.

France, also, was not wholly satisfied with the settlement, though undoubtedly she was better pleased than either Spain or Italy, inasmuch as she retained considerable influence in the future administration of the city. The French, however, were reluctant to renounce their control of Tangier through the French protectorate of Morocco, because the new arrangements will result in lengthening France's military route to Morocco; this new route must now follow the Atlantic Ocean to Casablanca.

Italy won a voice in the settlement, but only as the result of the expenditure of great energy on the part of Premier Mussolini. On Aug. 30, 1923, an Ital-

ian destroyer, acting under Mussolini's orders, landed a dozen carabinieri at Tangier ostensibly to reinforce the Italian Consular guards, who shortly before had been attacked by the Moroccan police, a gesture somewhat resembling that made by the former Kaiser at Tangier in 1911. Later, the vigorous demand of the Italian Premier for participation in the conference met with a polite but firm refusal, but further insistence resulted in Italy's ultimately winning the right to be represented in the newly created Legislative Assembly by two Italian members. This does not mean, however, that Italy accepts the Tangier treaty with equanimity. It was semi-officially reported on June 26 that the Italian Government was not satisfied with the tripartite agreement and might protest against some of its terms. As Tangier is on the Mediterranean and Italy has a large colony in Tangier, the Mussolini Government is said to look with disfavor on what they fear will prove the predominating influence of France, despite the work of "internationalization."

AMERICAN INTERESTS INVOLVED

The Government of the United States, at the time these pages went to press, was still studying the tripartite agreement, which had been transmitted to the State Department with identic notes

from the British, French and Spanish Governments. The agreement is obviously not unfavorable to American interests, especially so far as the open door principle and the legal protection of American citizens in Tangier are concerned, though it abolishes capitulatory rights which the United States formerly enjoyed and provides for a mixed court before which Americans accused of crime will be heard. Equal opportunity is presumably guaranteed through the Committee of Control, on which sit the Consular representatives in Tangier of all the powers signatory to the Algiers Convention, among which the United States is included. The American Government will also be represented by one member of the Legislative Assembly. Our State Department has been fully alive to American interests involved in the settlement and has achieved all that is required to secure our rights under previous international agreements.

The settlement of the status of Tangier, following the Lausanne Treaty, has undoubtedly been an important step toward European peace. The death of the famous bandit Raisuli eased a difficult situation brought about through his activities in the neighborhood of Tangier. Taken altogether, the Tangier Convention came at a very auspicious moment in a troubled world.



The High Price of Childbirth in the United States

By BENJAMIN P. CHASS

Writer on political, economic and social questions

THE United States, which is the richest nation in the world and which is reported to be overflowing with gold, holds the seventeenth place in maternal mortality, the last place among a report of seventeen countries. As the report of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor says: "The intelligence and the conscience of our people are challenged by this high rate." What is more, our rank in this regard is growing lower and lower. The maternal mortality rate was 6.1 per 1,000 births in 1915, and from that time it rose to 9.2 in 1918, the latter increase due largely to the influenza epidemic, which was doubly dangerous to expectant mothers. In 1919 the death rate dropped to 7.4 per 1,000 births. In all, 17,800 mothers died in the year 1919 from conditions caused by childbirth. Almost all these deaths were to a very great extent preventable.

In the year 1917 death among women between 15 and 44 years old was caused more by childbirth than any of the deadliest diseases, except tuberculosis; the same year took five times as many mothers from life as did typhoid fever. These cold facts prove that as a nation we pay an excessively high price for childbirth, whereas in other countries there has been a decrease in the deaths from childbirth.

As great as the loss is due to the death of the 17,800 mothers, there are still other immeasurable losses involved in many other respects, also caused by the death of the mother in the family. The motherless infant, the home without a mother: in these and other respects many losses are involved. There are, also, the countless mothers whose health remains forever impaired after child-

birth. The child without a mother runs a much greater chance of not surviving during the first year than the child with a mother. In Baltimore five times as many motherless babies died in 1918 as did the average of the city.

Chiefly, the cause of the high maternal death rate in the United States may be laid to the door of poverty. The poorer the conditions of the family, the greater the chance of maternal mortality. Ignorance, the daughter of poverty, contributes to this result. Poverty is the curse of the mother. It is poverty that causes the poor health of the expectant mother; it is poverty that forces the mother to work during pregnancy, and it is poverty that forces her to work right after childbirth. Again, it is ignorance that causes the mother to neglect her health; it is ignorance that does not demand prenatal care, public health nurses, or clinics, such as venereal clinics or maternity hospitals.

We in America find much fault with the Russia of today. If there is no other institution in Russia that we should respect, however, there is at least one which we proud Americans should study in humility and shame. In Russia the expectant mother who is forced to work is given two months before and two months after childbirth for rest, with payment in full. Each Russian industry or factory is provided with a nursery, where the working mother is free to bring her babies while she is at work. Special nurses take care of the babies. We in rich America cannot boast of such a blessing. Industry in the United States does not give mothers their full regular wages while they are attending their newly born babies.

Poverty and ignorance must be elimi-

nated among the nation's mothers if America wishes to hold her place among the progressive peoples of the world, for a Government which cannot provide its mothers with the best of everything is neither just, humane nor enlightened.

The thermometer of infant mortality in the United States is much better than that of maternal mortality; but, even so, there are six other countries with better rates. In 1918 more than 100,000 babies in the United States died before they had completed their first month of life. Five times as many babies die in the first month of life as in the second, and twelve times as many die during the twelfth month. This is "because the parents were not healthy or the mothers were not given proper care and protection during the months of pregnancy. We pile up this tall, black monument

because we allow mothers to be underfed or overworked, or both; because we let them struggle along without necessary medical and nursing care." This is the conclusion reached in the report of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

Many authorities contend that at least one-half of these babies die needlessly; others place the proportion of those who could be saved by proper care much higher. What is sorely needed is more maternity centres, which the poor expectant mother will be educated to visit much more often during and after pregnancy. Experience in this respect has shown great improvement in the health of the babies and many less deaths.

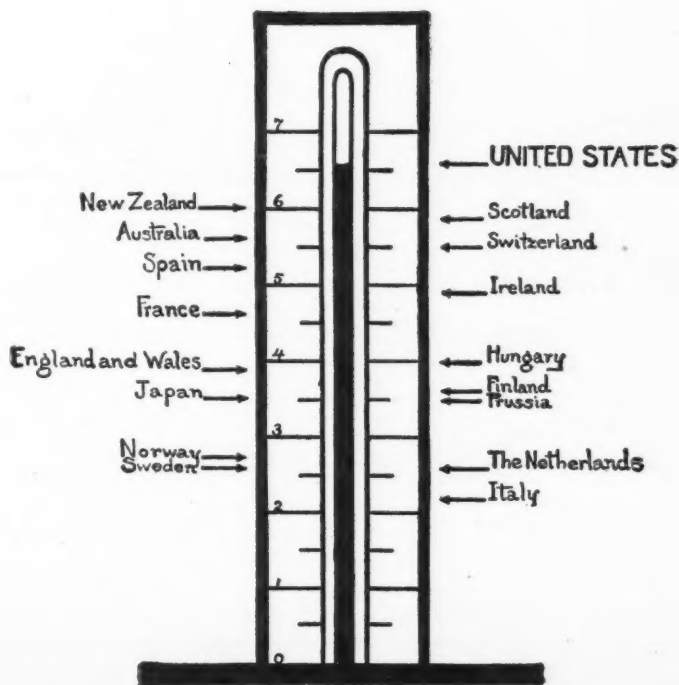
CHIEF CAUSES OF INFANT MORTALITY

The chief causes of infant mortality

MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES

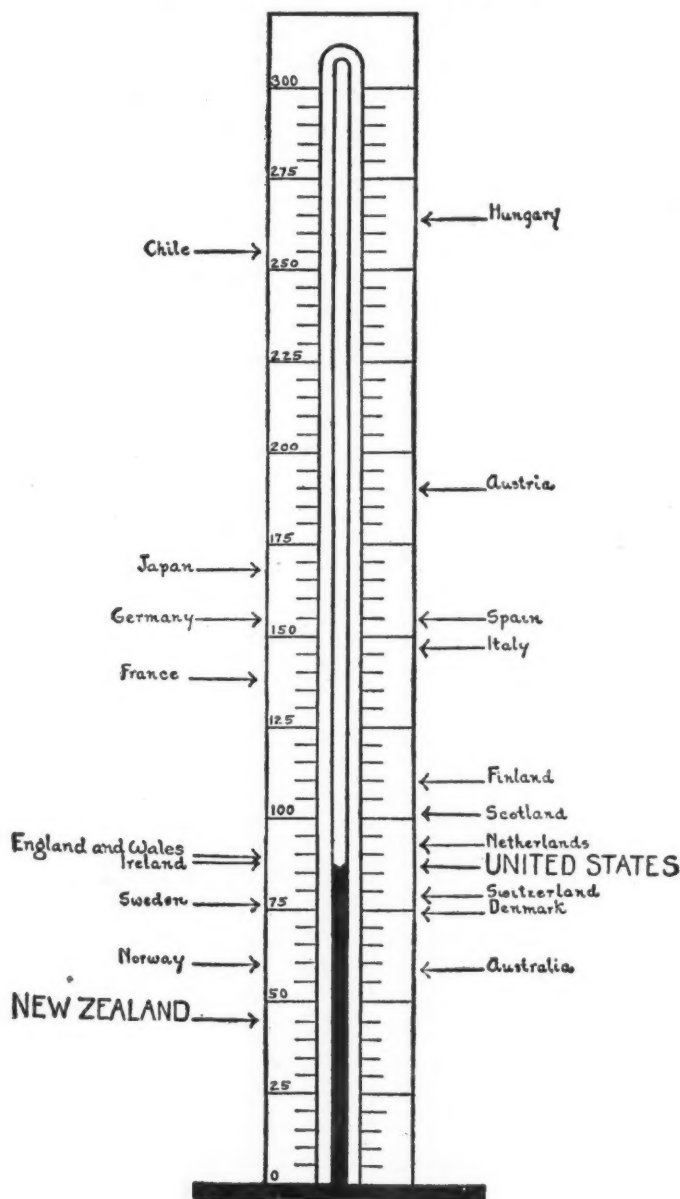
per 1000 births

latest available figures up to 1917



INFANT MORTALITY THERMOMETER

DEATHS UNDER 1 YEAR OF AGE PER 1,000 BIRTHS



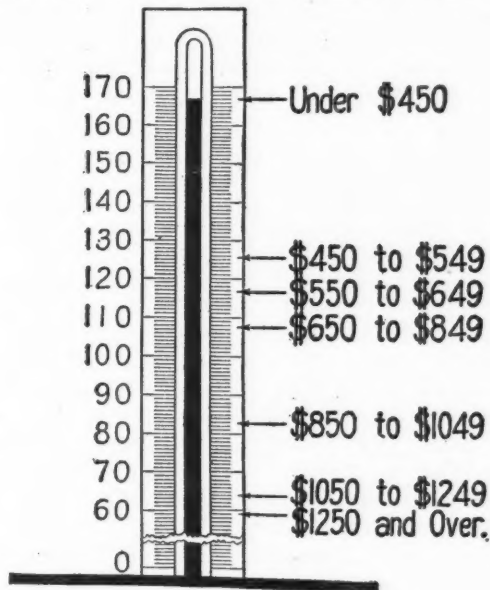
as shown by the Children's Bureau are as follows:

1. Income insufficient for family needs.
2. Venereal disease of the parents.
3. Health condition of mother during pregnancy.
4. Unskilled assistance during confinement.
5. Lack of care during the lying-in period.

Deaths related to natal and prenatal causes are greatest. The intense Summer heat is the next greatest danger. The various respiratory diseases, such as "bronchitis and pneumonia, reap their grim harvest largely in the poor,

INFANT MORTALITY RATES, ACCORDING TO FATHERS' EARNINGS

COMBINED FIGURES FROM SEVEN CITIES STUDIED BY U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU



**The baby death rate rises
as the fathers earnings fall.**

ill-ventilated, crowded homes, where food, cleanliness and fresh air are almost unknown and where even the rudiments of decent living are too often beyond the reach of the family's resources." There are also the various epidemic diseases and many other causes which take their toll of infants each year. In the United States about 250,000 infants die each year within their first year; two-fifths of these die during the first three weeks after birth.

All authorities agree that there is no necessity for this exceedingly high death rate. What is more, there is no reason why the United States should ever have reached this high peak. "Any community, in the light of present-day knowledge of health and preventive methods, can practically determine its own infant mortality rate."

Again, as in the case with the maternal mortality, one fact stands out: "The greatest proportion of baby deaths oc-

curs in families with the smallest incomes. * * * The poorer the family the greater the hardship of the mother and the greater the menace to the child." Income plays a great part in the rate of infant mortality. Poor wages mean poor housing conditions, overcrowding and insanitary conditions. "In the study of infant mortality made in Waterbury, Conn., by the Children's Bureau, the mortality rate for children born in rear houses or houses on alleys was 172, while the rate for children born in houses located on the street was 120.6. Study in Manchester, N. H., showed the infant mortality rate to be 123.3 where the persons in a room averaged less than one and 261.7 where they averaged two but less than three."

Furthermore, poor wages often drive the mother to work, in consequence of which the care of the baby is very much neglected—bottle feeding is substituted for breast feeding, and many other un-

favorable conditions prevail. "In Manchester, N. H., it was found that the mortality rate for babies whose mothers were employed outside the home was about twice the average for the city."

The fathers of 88 per cent. of the babies included in the Children's Bureau studies which were made before the war earned less than \$1,250 a year; 27 per cent. earned less than \$550. As the income doubled the mortality rate was cut in half. The conditions as revealed by the six-year survey made by the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor in the Mulberry district of New York show that the infant death rate under one year of age was 138.1 per thousand. The Mulberry district is a typical working class community. In conclusion, it may be said that the baby death rate rises as the father's earnings fall.

Another factor that enters into this high infant mortality is the absence of

birth control knowledge. This is especially the case in the poorer families. Lack of contraceptive knowledge means more children than are really wanted or that can be properly taken care of. The practice of birth control means fewer children and much better children; it means a stronger and healthier mother and a better environment.

No parents have a just or human right to bring children into this world unless certain provisions are guaranteed for the expected child. The following are the fundamental necessities that must be guaranteed each child: (1) A proper physical environment; (2) a proper home life; (3) the necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter; (4) present and future education for the child. Society must not expect mothers to give birth unless society can provide these absolute essentials. Given these essentials, the high death rate will vanish.



Picturesque Side of Filipino Life

By LUCIA W. ROBBINS

For several years a resident in the Philippine Islands

THE declaration by President Coolidge in his letter, dated Feb. 21, to Manuel Roxas, Chairman of the Philippine Independence Commission, that the Filipinos are not yet ready for independence, came as a sharp reminder of the ever-growing problem to American jurisprudence caused by the rapid growth of national consciousness among the natives of these insular possessions. Since the time, a quarter of a century ago, when the Philippine Islands became a dependency of the United States, the Filipinos have made fast strides. Indications of an awakening national spirit are manifest; the standard of living has improved and considerable success has marked the efforts toward more general education. Encouraged by these favorable signs, the native politicians are chafing for self-government. A bill giving the Filipinos an autonomous form of government, with the privilege, at the end of thirty years, of deciding by ballot whether they want complete independence, was introduced in Congress on April 23 by Representative Fairfield of Indiana.

To understand the relation of these developments to the situation in the Philippines, a comprehension of the life of the natives is essential, since they, for the most part, are placidly happy under American guidance and willing to remain so indefinitely. This rich archipelago of some 7,000 islands, bountifully endowed by nature, first came within the white man's vision when, 400 years ago, Magellan discovered them and claimed them for Spain. A sweep of colorful beauty, they are as exotic in natural endowment as is the life of the natives themselves. Originally Mohammedan or pagan, all but one-tenth of the Filipinos are now

Christian, and mossy old cathedrals scattered picturesquely throughout the islands testify to the labors of missionaries during the four centuries. In these churches one may now and then see considerable groups of gaily-robed yellow bits of humanity being made Christian and receiving names fanciful enough for old-fashioned romances, such as Rafaelo, Rosita, Juanito and Luciano, and occasionally genuine island names like Atang and Aponibalagan.

AMERICANIZATION BY EDUCATION

American names are, so far, rare, but are coming into vogue, for the American schools, even in the smallest barrios, use American school books and the children learn familiar American stories and poems. The pronunciation of English by the native children, however, is faulty, since they acquire it from native teachers who have received their own English from other Filipino teachers. The Filipinos who have been educated in the United States speak English exceedingly well, and a scholarship in an American college is the highest ambition of the young Filipino, who brings home something more than the education he has received, since he becomes imbued with a love for America and admiration for its institutions. The Filipinos seem eager to learn, as is evidenced by the attendance at schools and the eagerness with which facilities are sought.

Though religion and education have worked wonders, many of the old beliefs lurk stalwartly in the hearts of the plain people. Perhaps next door to the barrios schoolhouse an ancient fabric of palm swalli and nipa thatch falls in ruin, because of the evil spirits

said to haunt it; or a whole community will suffer illnesses imagined to be the operations of a fiendish spirit called "buso," which lives on the flesh of corpses and therefore causes the death of human beings in order to procure food for itself. Omens, divination and taboos play a disproportionately large part in Filipino life, and fanciful legends cast a weird glamour on vale and mountain. Though many traditions crop out of the past, the savage practices connected with them are no longer permitted under American rule. Head hunting and blood feuds have been brought to an end, and quite recently the apparently innocent dog markets have been suppressed because of their attendant cruelties. It was the custom to starve the beasts before selling them, and then to beat them to death so that the flesh should be tender.

Except for the changes forced upon them for their general good, the pagan islanders have altered their life very little. The woodland Negritos still go almost naked, and live in rude shelters of palm thatch or tree branches. With

their bows and arrows and blowguns they hunt deer, wild boars and birds, while roots and wild berries vary their diet. When they come into the towns to sell palmwood bows and feathered arrows with tips of various shapes, or perhaps wild orchids, airplants, parakeets, owls or pink sparrows in pumpkin-shaped bamboo cages, or little half-tamed monkeys, the Negritos may wear short sweaters or shirts as a concession to a civilization they know nothing of. Centuries ago the widespread Indian Archipelago was a world of these brown pigmies. They should not be confused with the true negro strain like the tall, thick-lipped, flat-nosed Papuans. Neither are they dwarfs, for though no larger than a twelve-year-old American boy, they are perfectly shaped and well proportioned. Their features are pleasing, and though the hair is generally woolly, it often clusters in big ringlets over their large, soft eyes. Sometimes they file their teeth and "beautify" shoulders and chest with rows of scars. Being weak and timid, they have been



Terraces constructed on mountain slopes in the Philippine Islands for the cultivation of rice



International

The home of a Moro tree dweller in the Philippines. The reason for living in trees is to escape snakes and insects that abound in the jungle

crowded away into the mountain forests, where they keep to many of their prehistoric customs. Infant mortality, appalling in the Philippines, is especially great among these tiny aborigines, and they are also easy victims for tuberculosis.

MYSTERY OF THE NEGRITOES

Though the origin of the Negritoes is one of the unsolved mysteries of the East, the other Filipinos trace back historically to several Malay invasions for their ancestry. These peoples have pale brown or yellow skins, abundant stiff straight hair, brown eyes, sometimes slanted, and high cheek bones. Though inclined to slight stature, they are finely formed, active and muscular. In the course of centuries an easy tropical life has much changed the Malay immigrants from their Mongol kindred of the Asian mainland. Especially have the Filipinos around Manila experi-

enced modifications from their contact with foreigners from all over the world; but in the southern islands and in the northern mountain ranges the natives have altered their life very little from the ancestral ways of the islands. If they can escape Government investigation, they gladly hunt heads and eat human flesh as a ceremonial act, but the most incorrigible tribes find life safer and longer under American protection.

The hardy mountaineers have nothing to do but perfect their already marvelous system of agriculture. They have tier upon tier of stone-banked terraces far up the mountainsides, irrigated from flumes and ditches, miles in length, and fertilized with village refuse, producing two and three crops a year. Cotton, coffee, rice, taro, maize, tobacco and camote (a sweet potato) are the staples. Tropic fruits and many queer vegetables furnish variety. These industrious pagans dwell in compact, well-built villages peacefully enough, since the United States has put a quietus to blood feuds and tribal vendettas. Somewhat like them are the Igorotes, formerly noted as the dog eaters. They, too, are industrious, and devote skill to metal work and gold mining. The Ilokanos are excellent weavers, and their pagan neighbors, the Tinggians, are famous potters in a strictly utilitarian way. They revolve the clay in a winnowing basket, tap it into shape with a paddle, holding a smooth stone inside, and bake it without a kiln in a fire of dung, wood or pine bark. This pottery, in shapes and sizes ranging from tiny flat rice dishes to capacious, tall water jars which women carry on their heads with inimitable grace, appears in all the markets. The Filipino, like all East-Indians, is quick to learn. He is an adept with his hands, and finishes his work neatly. A clean job appeals to him, but he seldom attempts to make his product positively beautiful.

Further south, in Mindanao and the islands for centuries under Mohammedan influence, with importation of Hindu, Arabic and Chinese culture, advance in artistic quality is pronounced.

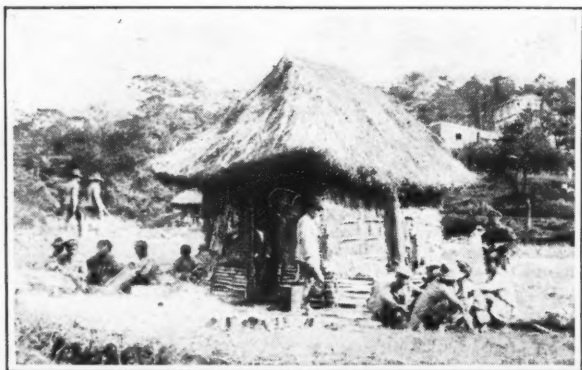
Besides rice and maize, the natives cultivate hemp for its beautiful fibre, which they weave into blankets and robes of brilliant patterns. They excel in the manufacture of fine steel blades, often chased or inlaid with other metals, and having handles of wood, horn, brass or ivory exquisitely decorated, and they work up copper, bronze, gold, silver and black coral into articles much prized for characteristic souvenirs. The Moros, as well as the other Filipinos throughout the islands, are expert basket makers. Though native basketry is confined to rather simple schemes, the trade schools are importing ideas from abroad, and, like the lace work and embroidery, basketry promises some day to occupy a worthy place in the world's market. From mats to cloth itself is only a step. Abaca, the fibre of the banana-like plant world famous as Manila hemp, has long been woven into a coarse, stiff fabric that is very durable, but pina cloth woven from pina apple leaf fibre with a mixture of silk is a newer textile material of extreme delicacy and beauty. Tapa, or bark cloth, replaces the woven fabrics among the Negritos and some of the pagan tribes, save for such true textiles as they may acquire in trade or by plunder.

THE MOROS

The Moro's name was fixed upon him by the early Spanish, who, when they arrived in the islands, found a people of the same faith as their Moorish ene-

mies at home and named them accordingly. The idea of lineage strongly developed by all the Filipinos is carried to an extreme degree among the Moros. Their Sultans have genealogies going back to Adam, preserved in books written in Arabic. They ascribe their conversion to Kabunsuan, the son of a Malay mother and an Arab father, whose own ancestry ran back to the blood of the Prophet. With such a haughty claim and an entirely different faith, it is not to be imagined that the proud Moros will ever ally themselves with the venal Luzon politicians, who are jeopardizing the peace and safety of the islands under pretense of serving Filipino patriotism. Recently the Moros and the Philippine Constabulary have come to blows on several occasions. Like the northern tribesmen, the southern Moro realizes that American protection is to be preferred to Spanish domination or Tagalog dictatorship. With their Mohammedanism the Moros advanced in the civilization of the time. They had firearms and body armor made of brass or horn plates joined by grass rings, round shields and helmets. Their swords and blades are beautiful; the kris, both wavy and straight; the kampilan, long and straight, with notched point; the bent bladed beheading knife; the barong, a heavy, short sword or knife with a curved edge. The bolo apparently means any sort of knife, anywhere from a tiny dagger, like a blade a woman may hide in her bosom, to the big, keen weapon carried in a leather sheath, in a tribesman's belt ready for murder, bamboo carpentry or simply cutting up food.

The Moro's festal garb is a tightly fitted dark costume of jacket and trousers, with brilliantly woven cuffs and anklets and a waist scarf to match. There may be a head cloth of the same weft, though formerly a man who killed a certain number of people was entitled to deck himself with



Native Igorot hut, of which the frame is made of bamboo and the roof thatched with nipa, a broad-leaved palm

a potong, or head cloth of red. The Moros are credited with introducing the jacket and the trousers to the other Filipinos, though among the pagans of Luzon the breech clout is still the favorite garment, if it may be called by that name. Shoes are very little worn. The bare feet are thrust into gay chineles, or heeled wood-soled seucas as brightly hued, which it is a sign of good breeding to remove at the doorway upon entering a house. The custom relating to hats is as strange. The Mohammedan clings to the turban, but among the other Filipinos headgear ranges from the diminutive four-inch basket or wooden bowl hat of the Igorote, used as an ornament or receptacle for small articles, to the enormous coolie hats, as broad as an umbrella. Hats are of basquetry, nipa palm, gourds or wood, and run to more than a hundred different shapes. Foreigners often decorate the big hats with paints and silk for lampshades. These are for the hill folk and work people. The city Filipina goes bareheaded, but her young man will wear an American hat to correspond with his American shoes of bright tan or patent leather. He may sport a beauteously embroidered pina or organdy camisa of baby blue, orchid or canary yellow, collarless and worn outside the white trousers, and if he dispenses with the hat he will wear a flower behind his ear.

The women are far more charming in their native garb than reports and cameras depict them. The balloon-sleeved camisa and stiff neckerchief are of pina delicately embroidered, matching in color the saya, or skirt, of a different material most strikingly patterned. The pointed train is pinned across the front to expose a much-trimmed petticoat at the back, and there is a black-jetted net apron or a tapis of brilliant plaid drawn tightly around the waist. The splendid hair, drawn back in a straight black cloud, falls below the knees, and on the naked, arched feet are chineles of purple or jade velvet or of black satin. When a trio of these brightly clad creatures

crowd into a calesa, or the humbler carremata or carretala, they look like nothing so much as a basket of orchids. But the Filipina dons a simpler dress when she takes the family wash to the stream, and in company with the other barrios women hooks her toes over a rock, sits down on her heels and proceeds to beat out the dirt with a flail or a stone in the running water.

Despite the claims of the Tagalog, there is no universal tongue in the Philippines. Tagalog is, however, a beautiful tongue. Humboldt declared it to be the most perfect of the Malayan family. The Spanish pronounced it the most admired but the most difficult of the island speeches. Popular songs, poems and love stories appear in Tagalog more than any other, and recently noteworthy Filipino-Tagalog romances of considerable charm have appeared from the pen of Rosalia de Aguinaldo, the wife of a Philippine Governor. Into Tagalog as well as Ibanag, Ilongot, Pangasinan Bontok, Ilokano, Pampagna, Ifugao, Bisaya and the many other tribal tongues, many Spanish words have crept, and Spanish has been for years the language of the upper class Filipinos. Naturally, English is now superseding Spanish as the official speech, and the people are rapidly acquiring it. Manila newspapers carry duplicate editorials in the two languages, and the street signs are doubled after the same fashion. Philippine money is designated in English and is very easy of calculation. Remembering that the peso is half a dollar and the centavo half a cent, the American will find no difficulty in keeping count.

Filipino life is steadily becoming Americanized. Formerly the respectable Filipino girl would not venture alone out of her door, lest some man for whom she cared nothing should walk beside her or venture to take her hand. Then, perforce, she would have to accept him as her fiancé lest her friends might say, "See, that girl is a bad character; she strolls brazenly about with men!" Now, however, the young Filipina who has absorbed modern freedom of thought with her American

schooling refuses to be coerced. She chooses her husband to suit herself. If her parents object she will run away and marry without their consent. She will make a good wife and a devoted mother and never shirk labor in field or shop beside her man, whose equal she is in general affairs, as she has always been, for feminism is no new thing in the Philippines. She will manage economically. Her betel chewing and cigarette smoking never become extravagances. Her husband may have his cockfights, which the Spanish found already established in Las Filipinas, or he may sometimes drink too much of the heady tuba, or gamble heavily at pool, but he seldom indulges in affairs of the heart. The Filipina is of a jealous nature and quite as capable as her man of applying the family bolo to other than household uses.

If a Filipino couple are simple farmer folk, their home will be a nipa shack perched about six feet above the wet ground on bamboo posts, with ladder, floor, cook balcony and wash shelf of bamboo. The sides of swalli or woven palm, open out like awnings, but may be tightly closed at night. The steep thatched roofs, with openings under the gable in place of chimneys, serve well for shedding the torrential rains, though they look like haystacks on stilts. Underneath the single room and side sheds is space for carabao carts, primitive plows, bamboo chicken coops, dug-out troughs, pigs, dogs, cats, ducks, turkeys, babies, shaded croton shrubs, mango, papaya and breadfruit trees, betel and cocoanut palms and, of course, great clumps of tall bamboo. People of more ample means live in larger

homes of wood much tricked out with bannisters and scrollwork, boasting many rooms and wide porches gay with flowers. The next degree of affluence is marked with coats of paint, cement steps and decorated eaves.

The highest class Filipinos are those of Spanish ancestry, maintaining proud, old-fashioned state in their ancient mansions behind mossy walls and their jalousied balconies that overlook the narrow street. Here will be found the lady of the house speaking perfect English. She learned the language during a four years' course at a New England College, acquired Castilian from her Spanish grandmother, studied French at a Swiss school and picked up at home in the islands her fluency in the several dialects spoken by her numerous corps of servants. Her brothers and her husband are graduates of American colleges, and already her small children are looking forward to the time when



Igorot head-hunters on the trail. The Igorots inhabit the mountainous districts of Northern Luzon, and are only slowly becoming civilized.

they shall be sent to their parents' Alma Maters. American sewing machines, phonographs, cameras, books, player pianos, aluminum ware and other articles from the United States find place in Philippine homes, even down to the humblest nipa shack.

PICTURESQUE MARKET SCENES

Though rice and fish lead as favorite items in Filipino diet, a stroll through the open shed markets that every town boasts will reveal a varied array of foodstuffs and general merchandise offered for sale. The bargaining goes on vociferously. Nobody dreams of the first price holding for more than the mere mention. Stalls of weird vegetables run a gamut of color, from the pale pink of banana buds (the Filipino cabbage), the purple of balacelas (a sausage-shaped eggplant), and the yellow of papayas and mangoes, to the several greens of water spinach, fern fronds and the patolas and amargosas, which are queer-looking cucumbers. Then there are camungay sprays to be boiled with chicken; huge rough-skinned breadfruits, delicious when roasted; pumelos, the native grapefruit, excellent served with chopped papaya as salad; chico and mangosteens; guayabanás, to be eaten raw or made into a jelly like the guava, also delicious uncooked; camotes, limes, and several varieties of bananas. They are heaped on bamboo benches or spread on bilaus, which are flat, shallow trays woven of bamboo splits, sought after by the souvenir hunter for magazine or sewing trays. The coolie hats, also on sale in the markets, make fine souvenirs. They are the size of umbrellas with peaked shapes, made of nipa palm and used by the Filipino for rain or shine. Foreigners enamel them in colors and line them with silk for electricians.

Basketry of stouter weave is used in the fish stalls as containers for bongoes

of brightest silver scale; doradoes, golden like their name; rompecandadoes, tanguingues, dried sardines, mackerel and other salt fish; or the baskets may be plastered with mud for holding water in which squirm a mass of itos, the dark-green catfish of common folk lore. Shrimp and crabs are also on sale, alive and wriggling. Small, picked birds are also offered alive and suffering, and there are bamboo coops of chickens that are plentiful and cheap. The pottery stalls are piled with utilitarian red ware, especially the flat-shaped furnaces with stubby knobs on which the round-bottomed clay cook pots are placed. Overhead hang bunches of lacals, the plaited bamboo rings used as stands for the pots. Gay cloth, chineles, salves, American blank books, working bark and other commodities are on sale, and Sunday is the great shopping day.

The market woman squats on her heels beside her wares and rolls her bit of betel nut with oyster shell lime in a bitter leaf before chewing it. It blackens her teeth and colors her mouth blood red, but she deems it a satisfactory and healthful indulgence. Betel chewing is as much a fixed habit as smoking among the Filipinos. Tobacco was once a monopoly of the Spanish Government, and the Filipino planter was forbidden to smoke his own tobacco outside of the drying sheds. Popular protest brought about the abolition of the law in 1882, and now everybody smokes. Even babies are given a whiff of the mother's cigarillo, and among the poorest people there is at least a family cigar, passed carefully around and then put away for the next time. The men smoke much, but the women seem to smoke more.

Such, then, are some of the ways of the people of the Philippines, who, as has been said, are not as greatly concerned about independence as the political agitators would make us believe.

The New Progressive Party

THE most determined attempt yet made to create a third party in opposition to both the Republicans and Democrats has been one of the features of the opening of this year's national political campaign.

United States Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin on July 4, 1924, communicated to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which convened in Cleveland on July 4, 1924, a statement (read by his son) in which he announced that he would submit his name, together with those of duly qualified electors, for filing on the ballot of every State in the Union in a candidacy for the Presidency of the United States. In this statement the Senator definitely left the Republican Party and expressed the conviction that "the people in November will take such action as will insure the creation of a new party in which all Progressives may unite." His statement was a long document in which he reviewed the political situation and severely arraigned both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party for "betrayal of the trust." The convention enthusiastically received his statement.

The Senator was endorsed by acclamation for the Presidency of the United States at the session on July 5. The endorsement carried with it an authorization to the National Committee of the conference, acting with the La Follette-for-President Committee, to name a candidate for Vice President. A great demonstration followed the presentation of the Senator's name, which was placed before the convention in the form of a resolution from the Committee on Organization. There were no nominating speeches, but there were various seconding speeches and the resolution was adopted unanimously.

At the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America at Cleveland, on July 7, 1924, a report, offered by a majority of a committee of fifteen, recommending that the convention concur in the action of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in endorsing the La Follette candidacy and his platform, was, after de-

bate, adopted by a vote of 106 to 17, thus officially throwing the whole organization of the Socialist Party behind the candidacy of Senator La Follette.

The Farmer-Labor Progressive Convention, which met at St. Paul, Minn., June 17 and 18, 1924, did not endorse the candidacy of Senator La Follette, as he had previously written a letter repudiating the Communists and other radicals who were participating in that movement. The convention nominated for President Duncan MacDonald of Springfield, Ill., formerly President of the Illinois State Miners' Union, and William Bouck of Sedro Woolley, Wash., a fruit grower and farmers' organizer, for Vice President. At a meeting at Chicago on July 10 the Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party announced the withdrawal of these nominees, the indorsement in their place of William Z. Foster of Chicago, Ill., and Benjamin Gitlow of New York, who were nominated by the Workers' Party—the American Communist organization affiliated with the Third International—for the respective offices of President and Vice President. The committee also issued a statement repudiating the Cleveland conference and attacking La Follette as a representative of "the middle classes."

The platform under which Senator La Follette is running for President, which was adopted at the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action on July 5, and on which he was also endorsed for the Presidency by the Socialist Party, is as follows:

For 148 years the American people have been seeking to establish a Government for the service of all and to prevent the establishment of a Government for the mastery of the few. Free men of every generation must combat renewed efforts of organized force and greed to destroy liberty. Every generation must wage a new war for freedom against new forces that seek through new devices to enslave mankind.

Under our representative democracy the people protect their liberties through their public agents. The test of public officials and public policies alike must be: Will they serve, or will they exploit, the common need? The reactionary continues to put his faith in mastery for the solution of all problems. He seeks to have what he calls the "strong men and best minds" rule and impose their decision upon the masses of their weaker brethren. The progressive, on the contrary, contends for less autocracy and more democracy in government, and for less power

of privilege and greater obligation of service. Under the principle of ruthless individualism and competition that Government is deemed best which offers to the few the greatest chance of individual gain. Under the progressive principle of cooperation that Government is deemed best which offers to the many the highest level of average happiness and well-being.

It is our faith that we all go up or down together—that class gains are temporary delusions, and that eternal laws of compensation make every man his brother's keeper. In that faith we present our program of public service:

(1) The use of power of the Federal Government to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

(2) Unqualified enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assemblage.

(3) Public ownership of the nation's water power and creation of a public super-power system. Strict public control and permanent conservation of all national resources, including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands, in the interest of the people. Promotion of public works in times of business depression.

(4) Retention of surtaxes on swollen incomes; restoration of the tax on excess profits, on stock dividends, profits undistributed to evade taxes, rapidly progressive taxes on large estates and inheritances and repeal of excessive tariff duties, especially on trust-controlled necessities of life, and of nuisance taxes on consumption, to relieve the people of the present unjust burden of taxation, and compel those who profited by the war to pay their share of the war's cost and to provide the funds for adjusted compensation solemnly pledged to the veterans of the World War.

(5) Reconstruction of the Federal Reserve and Federal Farm Loan systems to provide for direct public control of the nation's money and credit, to make it available on fair terms to all, and national and State Legislatures to permit and promote cooperative banking.

(6) Adequate laws to guarantee to farmers and industrial workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, through representatives of their own choosing, for the maintenance or improvement of their standards of life.

(7) Creation of Government marketing corporation to provide a direct route between farm producer and city consumer, and to assure farmers fair prices for their products and protect consumers from the profiteers in foodstuffs and other necessities of life. Legislation to conduct the meat-packing industry.

(8) Protection and aid of cooperative enterprises by national and State legislation.

(9) Common international action to effect the economic recovery of the world from the effects of the World War.

(10) Repeal of the Cummins-Esch law. Public ownership of railroads, with democratic operation, with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control.

(11) Abolition of the tyranny and usurpation of the courts, including the practice of nullifying legislation in conflict with the political, social or economic theories of the Judges. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and of the power to punish for contempt without trial by jury. Election of all Federal Judges without party designation for limited terms.

(12) Prompt ratification of the child labor amendment, and subsequent enactment of a Federal law to protect children in industry. Removal of legal discriminations against women by measures not prejudicial to legislation necessary for the protection of women and for the advancement of social welfare.

(13) A deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea.

(14) We denounce the mercenary system of foreign policy under recent Administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless Governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession seekers engaged in the exploitation of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles Treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and guarantee public referendums on peace and war.

In supporting this program we are applying to the needs of today the fundamental principles of American democracy, opposing equally the dictatorship of plutocracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We appeal to all Americans without regard to partisan affiliation, and we raise the standards of our faith so that all of like purpose may rally and march in this campaign under the banners of progressive union.

The nation may grow rich in the vision of greed. The nation will grow great in the vision of service.



A Month's World History

(Continued from Page 729)

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE Presidential campaign, the breach of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Great Britain (dealt with elsewhere in this magazine) and the temporary suspension by President Obregón of the Lamont-de la Huerta debt agreement were the chief developments in and with respect to Mexico in the month under review.

The last month of the Presidential campaign passed without alarming developments, but with tension increasing as July 6, the date of the election, approached. During the early part of June, General Calles campaigned in Southeastern Mexico. Clashes between Calles and Flores supporters occurred at San Juan del Rio, Queretaro, and Aguascalientes; at each place a number of people were killed and wounded, and several times General Flores narrowly escaped injury. On June 20 General Flores was reported to be seriously ill and to have been ordered by his physicians to suspend his campaign, which at that time he was conducting in Northeastern Mexico. The Government early began to take precautionary measures to insure a peaceful election. Reports dated July 7 stated that, on the whole, the elections on the day before had been orderly and quiet throughout the republic, but that it would be weeks before the final results of the Presidential and Congressional elections were known. It was reported from Mexico City on July 4 that General Calles, confident that he would be elected, had planned a trip to Europe; it was understood that he intended to study social questions in Germany, France and England. Official returns from Mexico City on July 11 gave General Calles 41,455 votes against 8,540 for General Flores. The returns indicate that in Mexico City the Calles Deputies also won.

Charles B. Warren, United States Ambassador to Mexico, announced on July 12 that he would shortly resign his post.

The inability of Mexico to float a loan, after repeated efforts to do so, resulted in the temporary suspension on July 1 of Mexico's debt agreement with the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico. In announcing this, President Obregón stated that the "said suspension shall cease at the restoration of the equilibrium of the Federal Public Treasury by applying either the funds intended for the service of the foreign debt or the proceeds of a loan to be contracted to that effect."

Under the terms of the Lamont-de la Huerta agreement, Mexico's interest payment for 1924 on the acknowledged foreign debt of \$710,000,000 was fixed at \$17,500,000, of which \$8,750,000 was due on June 30. In the statement announcing the default of this first semi-annual payment for 1924, President Obregón took occasion to explain the reason therefor. He reasserted that de la Huerta in 1922 had falsely led him to believe that a loan had been obtained "for the execution of irrigation works and for the establishment of the Banco Unico de Emision," and that for this reason he had not at the time attempted "to improve the conditions agreed on for the resumption of the debt service." President Obregón added that even after "the affirmations of Mr. de la Huerta relative to the above-mentioned loan came out * * * to be false," which was after the Lamont-de la Huerta agreement had been officially approved, the President and the Government resolved "at the risk of great sacrifices" to live up to the last word of the agreement.

The President then drew a picture of Federal poverty which he said followed the Government's decision to pay. The Administration, he said, was obliged to spend during the de la Huerta rebellion much of the money that had been saved to meet the American debt. After the revolt was suppressed the Government again embarked on a policy of strict economy; the budget was balanced; the civil personnel was reduced; many expenditures were suppressed; the Government defaulted for over two months in the payment of salaries to Government officials and employes and to members of the national army; and a number of bills due to merchants, industrials and bankers were unpaid by the Government. When these efforts failed to meet the situation, the Mexican Government sought the co-operation of the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico in the form of a loan equivalent to the interest on the foreign debt for 1924. At this juncture, according to President Obregón, Mr. Lamont, Chairman of the Bankers Committee, inquired of the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico about the prospects offered by the oil industry in the Central American republic; the report rendered by the association through its President, Guy Stevens, according to President Obregón, "evinced a sheer ignorance of Mexican legislation and political conditions," and

prompted the committee to withhold from co-operation.

From New York City it was reported early in July that members of the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico did not regard the suspension of service on the Mexican debt as indicative of Mexico's intention to repudiate the Lamont-de la Huerta debt agreement, and that the bankers were disposed to allow Mexico time in which to resume interest payments on her foreign debt. It was further reported that the bankers did not concur with President Obregón in blaming the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico for the failure of the Mexican Government to obtain a new loan. In this connection it was explained that the bankers had merely asked the association whether or not the production of oil in Mexico was such that it could be relied upon as a source of revenue for five or more years in amortizing a new loan. It was further explained that in answering in the negative the producers had emphasized the Mexican constitutional provisions which vest in the nation subsoil rights to surface land acquired since 1917, and which, it was stated, barred new operations to replace old wells that were failing. It is understood that the loan solicited by the Obregón Government was to have been secured by taxes on petroleum production in Mexico.

The United States State Department announced on July 2 that under the convention with Mexico signed on Sept. 8, 1923, ex-Governor Nathan L. Miller of New York and Don Aquiles Elorduy had been appointed members of the General Claims Commission by the United States and Mexican Governments, respectively. It was also announced by the respective Governments that Ernest B. Perry of Nebraska and Don Fernando González Roa had been appointed members of the Special Claims Commission under the convention with Mexico signed on Sept. 10, 1923.

The Inter-American Commission of Electrical Communications created last year by the Fifth Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, met at Mexico City in the later part of May with all the American nations represented by delegations. By June 28 the subcommittee on legislation and conventions was ready to submit to the commission the draft of a convention to establish new international principles with respect to tariffs, traffic and certain uniform regulations for handling correspondence by radio and wires. Other committees were engaged in work aimed at bringing about uniformity in electrical communications on the American continents.

The strike of the Aguila petroleum workers at Tampico continued during June as the outstanding instance of industrial unrest in Mexico. On June 9 the Mexican Federation of Labor was reported to have sent 35,000 pesos to the strikers. A week later (June 16) announcement was made from Mexico City that the Federation

of Labor had canceled a monthly contribution of 60,000 pesos and additional supplies of food-stuffs to the Aguila strikers because of their refusal to abide by the decision reached between the Federation and the Aguila Company, which had granted 90 per cent. of the demands of the strikers. The Federation of Labor also authorized any striking member of the union to return to work and threatened with expulsion any who refused to do so within a specified time. From Mexico City it was reported on July 4 that Federal forces had occupied the properties of the Aguila Company at Tampico. The occupation, it was announced, had no connection with the strike of the Aguila workers; the regional Federation of Labor, however, telegraphed President Obregón demanding an explanation.

It was reported from Mexico City on June 16 that the Immigration Inspector at Manzanillo had, upon instructions from Mexico City, ordered the re-embarkation of sixty Japanese who had landed there from a Japanese steamer with their papers in regular order, and that the Japanese Government would protest against such action. The Mexican Department of Agriculture on June 17 issued a permit to a Japanese company to establish a fish-canning plant on Magdalena Bay. Announcement was made on June 27 by Baron Shigetsuma Furuka, Japanese Ambassador to Mexico, that 32,000 Japanese now living in California had decided to sell their properties in that State and would establish colonies along the West Coast of Mexico.

The Mexican Government, with the object of reducing the national army to a maximum of 60,000 men, ordered the discharge of 35,000 soldiers on June 20. Villa Hermosa, capital of the State of Tabasco, and last stronghold of the de la Huertista rebels, was occupied by Federal troops on June 9. With the surrender on July 3 of 300 rebels the Federal Government entered into complete possession of that State.

President Obregón returned to Mexico City on June 19, after an extensive trip by train, motor car and horseback through the States of Sonora, Sinaloa, Nayarit and Jalisco. Everywhere the President was received with the greatest enthusiasm and affection by the people.

Dr. José Vasconcelos recently accepted the candidacy for the Governorship of the State of Oaxaca, and on July 2 tendered his resignation as Secretary of Public Instruction of Mexico in order to initiate his gubernatorial campaign.

Five European representatives of the Southern Pacific Railway Lines, together with several American members of the same company, recently visited the States of Sonora, Nayarit and Sinaloa, where they inspected the properties of the Southern Pacific Lines, which will in the near future be developed by European immigration. These properties are located in the richest zones of the Mexican West Coast.

The National University of Mexico opened on July 9 its 1924 Summer session for Mexican and foreign students; the session ends on Aug. 22. This course affords an excellent opportunity to Americans to become acquainted with Mexican life and to study the Spanish language in a practical way.

HONDURAS

POLITICAL leaders in Honduras early in June agreed upon Dr. José María Casco and Ramón Alceró Castro as Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, respectively. Each of the candidates, according to a signed agreement, was to have the undivided support of the revolutionary chiefs.

Provincial President Tosta, complying with the recent Amapala pact, on June 18 instructed all Governors of departments and all military commandants to observe strict neutrality and to assure the free exercise of the suffrage in the June-July elections for Deputies to the Constituent Assembly. President Tosta at the same time assured the American Minister that the same procedure would be followed with respect to the elections for a Constitutional President.

Conditions in Honduras during June showed few signs of the turbulence which followed the recent revolution. Affairs were fast returning to normal; confiscated property was being restored; schools were reopening, and leaders of the defeated dictatorial Government were returning to their homes. Elections to the Constituent Assembly were concluded on July 1 without any disturbance whatever. The Conservative Party won throughout Honduras.

NICARAGUA

THE General Treaty of Peace and Amity signed at the Central American Conference in Washington in 1923 was ratified by the Nicaraguan Congress on June 21. Nicaragua is the second of the Central American republics to take this action.

President Bartolomeo Martínez recently requested an expression of the views of the United States Government on the political situation in Nicaragua and on the provision of the Nicaraguan Constitution which makes a President ineligible to succeed himself. On June 13 the United States Chargé d'Affaires at Managua advised President Martínez that the Government of the United States had no desire to intervene in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and had no preference as between political parties or candidates, but that it "would be precluded, by the policy which it has already publicly announced with regard to the recognition of new Governments in Central America, from recognizing a Government arising from the election to the Presidency of a citizen expressly and unques-

tionably disqualified by the Constitution of his country." Because the United States Government wished "to be in a position to extend the fullest and most sympathetic cooperation to the new Government," the desire was expressed "that there should be no question in January, 1925, of the eligibility of the person who shall have been chosen as President of Nicaragua." Hope was expressed that "the new President of Nicaragua might be constitutionally chosen by elections in which the will of the Nicaraguan people may be given the fullest and freest expression."

Dr. Martínez, as Vice President of Nicaragua, succeeded to the Presidency following the death of President Diego Manuel Chamorro in October, 1923. After considerable rioting, attended with the loss of life, the Conservative and Liberal Parties nominated in May their respective candidates for the Presidency.

It was announced in Washington on July 12 that, through an exchange of diplomatic notes, a new trade accord has been effected between the United States and Nicaragua. The agreement is reciprocal and calls for unconditional most-favored-nation treatment with respect to customs duties and other commercial charges. The arrangement is similar to one recently made between the United States and Brazil.

PANAMA

A TREATY to prevent the illegal importation of intoxicating liquors, similar to those already made between the United States and Great Britain and the United States and Germany, was signed in Washington on June 6 by Secretary of State Hughes, representing the Government of the United States, and by Minister Alfaro, representing the Government of Panama.

The discovery of white Indians in the jungles of Southeastern Panama by the Marsh-Darien Expedition was announced on June 14 by Richard O. Marsh, organizer and head of the expedition, which included distinguished members of the Smithsonian Institution, of the American Museum of Natural History and of the Faculty of the University of Rochester. Marsh reached Colon, Canal Zone, on June 18, with three Indian children, described as having fine flaxen hair, blue-green eyes and white skins. Marsh sailed on June 29 from Cristóbal for New York, accompanied by the three white Indians. Arriving at New York, the little ones were examined on July 9 by scientists, who substantiated the opinions previously voiced as to their racial origin.

The volume of cargo moving through the Panama Canal has declined gradually since Jan. 1, 1924. Cargo in transit during March totaled 73,305 tons, or 4,060 tons less than that for February and 4,996 tons less than that for January. Total tonnage for the first quarter of the year was

6,943,420 tons; which represented an increase of 847,282 tons over the corresponding period last year.

CUBA

THE strike of 12,000 employes of the United Railways of Havana, which forced the cessation of operations by that company on May 28, was settled on June 18. Street car employes on June 12 refused to join the railway strikers, but voted financial aid for them.

A blanket amnesty bill signed by President Zayas on June 5 liberated from jail or freed from pending indictments approximately 1,000 persons guilty of or charged with various crimes and misdemeanors, ranging from murder downward. The bill likewise wiped out charges of malfeasance in office against two former Cabinet officers and three ex-Governors of provinces and permitted an exiled Deputy to return home.

An indictment of alleged deplorable labor conditions in Cuba, made at the International Labor Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, on June 27, by Cuban Delegate Vinageras, evoked a spirited protest from Dr. Aristides de Aguiar y Beaumont, Cuban Minister to Germany, who was present at the conference.

Commissions for the settlement of labor disputes arising at the ports of the republic have been created by a law promulgated in the Official Gazette of June 10. This law provides for a "Comision de Inteligencia" at each of the twenty-seven ports of the island, each commission to be composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employes and to be presided over by the Judge of First Instance or by the Municipal Judge of the locality. The commissions are given jurisdiction over questions of wages, strikes, lockouts and all matters which directly or indirectly affect labor in the ports.

The Association of Sugar Producers of Cuba, at its annual election on June 24, chose Señor Ramon J. Martinez as President. The association is nationally representative of sugar interests in Cuba.

It has been estimated that tobacco production in Cuba during 1924 will be in excess of 414,000,000 cigars, 396,000,000 packages of cigarettes and 518,000 pounds of cut tobacco, with an approximate total value of \$55,240,000; this crop, it was said, would establish a record for the Cuban tobacco industry. The use of the words "Havana" and "Tampa" in connection with the distribution and sale of cigars manufactured from tobacco grown within the United States and at a place other than Tampa, Fla., was declared, on June 17, by the Federal Trade Commission, to be an unfair method of competition. This decision was greeted with warm approval by the tobacco producers of Cuba, who had long complained of the prevalence of this method of imposition.

HAITI

THE Haitian Council of State on June 18 approved a law creating a new Internal Revenue Bureau, which will operate under the supervision and control of the American Receiver General of Customs, and which will have charge of the collection of all imposts and taxes except the customs duties, these remaining under the control of the Receiver General of Customs. The director and other employes of the new bureau are to be appointed by the President of Haiti upon the nomination of the Haitian Minister of Finance and of the Receiver General of Customs. The United States State Department announced on June 18 that Dr. William E. Dunn, formerly Associate Professor of Latin-American History at the University of Texas and since 1921 Acting Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Lima, had been selected as the first director of the bureau.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

GENERAL HORACIO VASQUEZ, President-elect of the Dominican Republic, arrived in New York on June 19 and in Washington on June 21. During his three days' visit to Washington he was an official guest of the United States Government. Luncheons were given in his honor by President Coolidge, by Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, and by Sumner Welles, American Commissioner to the Dominican Republic.

The Congress of the Dominican Republic on June 26 ratified the treaty with the United States providing for the evacuation of the Dominican Republic by American military forces which have been stationed there since 1916. Simultaneously, it was announced from Washington that the withdrawal of the 1,800 marines in the Dominican Republic would be begun as soon as possible after July 10.

JAMAICA

BRIG. GEN. SIR SAMUEL WILSON, Governor of Trinidad and Tobago since 1921, has been appointed to succeed Sir Leslie Probyn as Governor of Jamaica.

Striking municipal workers, engaged in acts of destruction and rioting because the municipal Government attempted to fill their places with other workers, were fired upon by the police of Kingston on June 9. Two rioters and several policemen and noncombatants were killed. A little more than a week later a number of people were seriously injured in a riot which occurred when striking stevedores attacked laborers who were engaged in loading a fruit steamer. Later a number of the rioters were tried and sentenced to imprisonment for one year.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

THE All America Cable Company, which maintains service from New York to Mexico, Panama, the western coast of South America, across the Andes to Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro and other points on the coast of Brazil, has virtually completed the purchase of the United States-Haiti cable of the French Transatlantic Cable Company. By this purchase the American company obtains the full ownership of the French cable to Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, Curaçao and Venezuela. Included in the agreement is a valuable contract with a British cable company which will link Northern Brazil with the Caribbean region and the United States.

The French monopoly which the All America Company takes over runs until 1929. The French cable service in this region has been expensive, and it is thought that the American company may reduce the rate by one-half. Business has greatly increased in this region during the past two decades, owing largely to oil developments in Venezuela. The French cable is old, and has often been out of working order; this, together with a congestion of messages, frequently has resulted in impaired service.

BRAZIL

A MILITARY revolution which threatened to assume national proportions broke out on July 4 in the State of Sao Paulo. Owing to the establishment of a censorship at Rio de Janeiro, little official information was available; it was authoritatively reported, however, that the rebel troops had captured Sao Paulo, the State capital, a city of 700,000 population and the second largest city in the republic. According to press dispatches from Buenos Aires, the Brazilian Congress two days later enacted a Government bill declaring a state of siege for sixty days in the two States of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. Estimates conflicted as to the significance of the revolt: the Government claimed that it was restricted to a small area; press correspondents, however, declared it to be "of formidable character politically and aimed at the Federal Government." An army of 13,000 men, composed of Sao Paulo State forces and Federal troops, was reported on July 7 to be marching toward Rio de Janeiro.

The American Consul at Sao Paulo reported to Washington on July 11 that the rebels were in

complete control of the City of Sao Paulo, that the Governor of the State had left the city, and that protection of life and property had been promised. Dispatches published in Montevideo stated that Colonel Joao Francisco, Rio Grande leader, was at the head of the revolution; it was further reported that the Civil Government of Sao Paulo had been supplanted by a military junta under General Rondon and Major Klinger. Newspapers on July 13 said that 400 civilians had been killed in the rebellion. The cause of the revolution was not clear; authoritative Brazilian observers believed that it might have been prompted by President Bernardes's endorsement of the British suggestion to withdraw Government protection from the Sao Paulo coffee industry.

The British mission which, at the request of the Brazilian Government, spent four months of last Winter studying the financial, agricultural and industrial situation in Brazil has completed its report. The mission's principal recommendation is that the Government budget be balanced; closer watch upon Federal expenditures, the application of yearly surplus to debt redemption and a campaign which would serve the double purpose of developing the country and attracting foreign capital, are other cardinal suggestions. The report was approved by President Bernardes and the Minister of Finance.

Sao Paulo is the richest State in Brazil, and exports extensively, coffee being its chief product. The City of Sao Paulo, which is reported to have been the scene of bitter street fighting prior to its capture by the rebels, is a modern metropolis. Its growth has been phenomenal, the population numbering but 65,000 in 1890.

The question of enacting amendments to the Constitution of Brazil occasioned widespread discussion throughout the republic during June. Dr. Arnolfo Acevedo, on assuming the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, expressed the opinion that the present Constitution had been emasculated by politicians so that it no longer represented popular ideas. He proposed a revision in accordance with popular opinion. The Legislature was reported as favoring a constitutional revision which would make the election of the President a prerogative of Congress. In his recent message President Bernardes discussed constitutional revision. He favored many of the changes demanded, but saw no need for change in the present equality of foreigners and Bra-

zilians in the republic. The President asserted that the existing laws are adequate, as they permit the expulsion of undesirable foreigners already in the country, and prohibit the admission of undesirables coming from other countries.

Among the proposed changes which President Bernardes approved was an amendment expressly forbidding State Constitutions from allowing re-election of the Presidents of individual States. The Brazilian Federal Constitution forbids the re-election of any Chief Executive. Most of the State Constitutions include the same provision, which is generally considered a prerequisite imposed by the Federal Constitution upon the Constitutions framed by the States. A legislative contradiction bearing upon this question was brought sharply to the attention of the public recently when a political party in the State of Rio Grande do Sul took arms against State President Borges de Medeiros, demanding his resignation. The principal cause of the revolt was the re-election of President Medeiros, who has held office continuously for more than twenty years, the Constitution of the State allowing re-election.

Another proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution required the head of the Government in each State to report annually to the Federal Government the facts pertaining to the State's Administration, to enable the National Government to become more acquainted with the general condition of the country. President Bernardes also asked an amendment endowing the Executive branch of the Government with the power of partial veto on resolutions passed by Congress; the President explained that, for lack of such power, many resolutions which were quite necessary, but which contained objectionable clauses, had to be entirely approved by the Executive or else be entirely rejected.

The Government's emergency bills, which it was hoped would reduce the cost of living in Brazil, were signed by the President on July 1. Under the provisions of the new laws, duties and clearances at all Brazilian custom houses on all staple foods, including rice, sugar, potatoes, jerked beef, beans and corn, were canceled for a period of sixty days; the measure went into effect at once.

Dr. W. L. Schurz, American Commercial Attaché and chief of the American Crude Rubber Commission, left Rio de Janeiro on June 10 for the United States. Dr. Schurz, who has just completed an exhaustive study of the resources of the Amazon Valley, declared this region to be capable "of growing enough rubber to supply the world."

ARGENTINA

THE first Chemical Congress of South America met during May in Buenos Aires. Special attention was paid to the uses of petroleum and

its related product, with a view to improving economic conditions in Argentina and the other republics. The Machinery Exhibition, which was to have opened in Buenos Aires on May 5, was postponed until September. The display, as arranged by the Minister of Agriculture, will feature chiefly agricultural implements and refrigerating plants.

The new immigration law of the United States, which cuts down the number of aliens admissible from Italy, is expected to increase Italian immigration to South America. Count Marescotti, the new Italian Minister to Argentina, recently expressed the opinion that many of his countrymen will seek new homes in the River Plate region. Subsidies and grants of lands are among the inducements being offered by Argentina and Brazil to attract Italians to their sparsely settled areas.

In his opening message to the Sixty-third Congress, President de Alvear on June 21 urged severe retrenchment of the public expenses and a general revision of the tax system. The President expressed optimism regarding Argentina's financial outlook, asserting that "conditions have improved, fortifying our reputation as a country for the safe investment of capital." The President also recommended that Congress sanction Argentina's adherence to the covenant of the League of Nations; he voiced a special desire that this be done prior to Sept. 1, which is the date set for the opening of the fifth Assembly of the League at Geneva.

Argentinian railroads, both State and private, enjoyed a particularly successful year in 1923. Both lines reported an expansion; the State roads increased their receipts over those of 1922 by \$5,650,200, while the privately owned roads announced an increase of \$5,253,800 in receipts. Buenos Aires shared in the general prosperity of the republic to such an extent that on May 26 work was started upon a new thoroughfare in the centre of the city. The contract, which calls for an expenditure of more than \$50,000,000, was awarded to a New York firm.

CHILE

BUSINESS conditions in Chile improved during the month under review. Following the announcement of the new price schedule for nitrate in 1924, five large sales were concluded. The settlement of the recent political difficulties created greater confidence in retail business. Copper production, however, was below normal as a result of large stocks and low prices in world markets. The Catholic University of Santiago has added to its courses a School of Commerce, to which the university hopes to attract graduates of the best secondary schools; the new institution is the first of the kind in Chile. The curriculum will offer advanced courses in

business management, finance, law and kindred subjects.

A signal testimonial of Chile's friendship for the United States was the closing on July 4 of all schools throughout the republic; in Santiago, America's Independence Day was marked by numerous ceremonies.

An agreement has been reached by which the Chilean Government is to acquire from the Lebu Coal Company the Southern Railroad, which runs from the port of Lebu to Los Sauces. The purchase price of the line is approximately \$2,000,000, of which the coal company agrees to expend some 10 per cent. in improving workers' habitations and in general welfare activities.

ECUADOR

IN order to protect live stock in Ecuador, the Government has authorized the establishment of an experiment station for the study of live stock diseases and their prevention. The station will be under the direction of the Minister of Agriculture. Ecuador is now experimenting with a sales tax. One per cent. is to be paid annually on the gross value of all articles sold or owned by merchants. In addition, each merchant or manufacturer must pay an annual tax of two sucres. A recent law passed by the National Congress regulates the manufacture of firearms and ammunition, and forbids their importation into the country except by the Government.

Representatives of Ecuador and Peru met in Quito on June 21, and signed a protocol in which it was agreed that, as soon as the Tacna-Arica question now pending between Chile and Peru should be settled, delegates of the latter republic and of Ecuador would meet in Washington to adjust certain boundary disputes. In case the delegates reach no conclusion the question will be submitted, as was the Chilean-Peruvian controversy, to the President of the United States for arbitration.

VENEZUELA

THE need for legislative reform with respect to public education was the foremost question before the Venezuelan Congress during June; an extensive program of improvement in this field was considered by the Legislature. Venezuela's general prosperity is reflected in the active continuation of public works, and in the recent extension of oil explorations. A report was published in New York during June to the effect that a revolution had broken out in Venezuela, the rebels being led by Arevalo Cedeno; the report was emphatically denied by the Government officials, who declared that complete peace reigned throughout the country.

PERU

THE National Defense League has opened a competition for textbooks on Peruvian history, suitable for use in the public schools; stimulation of civic pride and culture is the aim of the contest, which has excited wide interest. The competition closes Oct. 1, 1924; publicists and professors in universities and secondary schools are participating. A prize of \$700 is offered, and the Minister of Instruction will recommend that the prize-winning book be used as the official textbook in the schools.

URUGUAY

MONTEVIDEO, the capital of Uruguay, indulged in a frenzied celebration, June 9, upon receipt of the news that the Uruguayan soccer foot-ball team had won the Olympic championship in Paris by defeating Switzerland. Whistles of ships and factories augmented the cheers of the crowds parading the streets; business was virtually at a standstill. The Uruguayan flag on this occasion floated just above the Stars and Stripes in the Olympic Stadium at Paris. The United States had held the world leadership since May 18 by virtue of its victory in the Olympic rugby competition.

BOLIVIA

A RECALCITRANT revolution, which had been smoldering for some time, broke out in Santa Cruz Province early in July; on July 10 the rebels were announced to be in possession of the City of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The Bolivian Government acted quickly, and on July 11 a considerable body of Federal troops was reported to be advancing toward Santa Cruz. Opinion in La Paz is generally antagonistic to the rebels, who are characterized in the press as "foreign mercenaries and traitors." Annexation of Santa Cruz Province to Brazil was declared to be the aim of the revolution.

General business in Bolivia was less active during July. The tin industry, however, continued to prosper in spite of a drop in the price of tin.

The control of the Banco de la Nación Boliviana was taken over by the Government despite opposition. Subsequently, however, the opposing element threatened to have government control declared unconstitutional. Efforts were made for the negotiation of a loan to finance the completion of the Atocha-Villazón Railway, which will unite the Bolivian and Argentine railway systems. Operation of the part of this line from Villazón to Tupiza was begun on May 10, the ceremonies being attended by the Presidents of both Argentina and Bolivia. Negotiations were completed June 5 by which New York bankers purchased \$2,700-

000 of 8 per cent. Bolivian bonds. These supplement the loan of \$24,000,000 floated in New York four years ago.

COLOMBIA

PUBLIC interest in Colombia during July centred upon the question of constructing a railroad which would connect Bogota, the capi-

tal, with the Atlantic Coast; Bogota at present has no railroad connections with either the Atlantic or the Pacific. A Colombian-American syndicate has submitted two proposals to the Colombian Government to build and operate a standard-gauge railroad from Bogota to the Atlantic; the Government itself is negotiating with American capitalists to build its own line at a total cost of \$30,000,000.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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GREAT BRITAIN

EVENTS of the present session of Parliament seem to indicate that the convention requiring the resignation of a Government which is frequently defeated upon important matters of policy is being suspended in favor of Labor. This variation from the rule, however, is in accordance with the flexibility which is a distinguishing characteristic of the British Constitution. It simply makes effective the general will, which undoubtedly exists in Great Britain, that the Labor Government shall be given a chance to show what it can do and shall not be turned out of office until the House of Commons, and presumably the public, have made up their minds that, all things considered, the time has come either to substitute other leaders for the present Prime Minister and his followers or to call another general election. These observations are apropos of the fact that on June 30 the Government was defeated for the seventh time during the present session. The reverse came upon a clause in the Finance bill, a combination of Conservatives and Liberals making a majority of fifty-five against the Government. Having destroyed the particular clause to which they objected, however, the Liberals promptly returned to the MacDonald fold when Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Conservative leader, attempted to use the reverse to threaten the existence of the Labor Ministry.

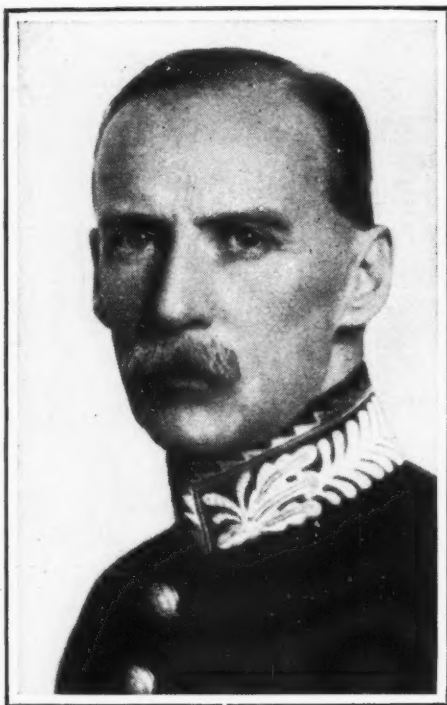
One of the most important Parliamentary decisions of the session was the defeat of the resolution in favor of imperial preference passed by the recent Imperial Conference. The Government granted a free vote upon the question and a combination of Liberal and Labor members rejected the proposal. The Conservatives voted solidly for it, supported by eighteen Liberals and five Labor members. There was also a large number of Labor abstentions. Dispatches from the dominions indicate a considerable degree of disappointment

at the failure of Great Britain to accept this method of strengthening imperial ties and improving the economic condition of all parts of the empire.

It is understood that the Cabinet, acting upon the advice of its military and naval advisers, has decided against the construction of the Channel tunnel between England and France. The question was considered at a special meeting of the Committee on Imperial Defense presided over by the Prime Minister, and it had been hoped in many quarters that the social and commercial advantages of the project might lead to its sanction.

The unofficial strike on the London underground railways came to an end after having lasted just a week. The walk-out was called in direct defiance of the authority of the National Union of Railwaymen and was defeated by the united efforts of the union, the employers and the public. The strike was denounced in England as a communistic attack upon society and was looked upon with disapprobation by the Labor Government. On July 4 long threatened walk-outs were begun by the Building Trades Operatives, despite the fact that the entire dispute between them and the employers is now under investigation by an official court of inquiry. The employers declare that the sectional agreements which they expect to result from the situation as it stands must greatly prejudice the negotiation upon a national basis for a vast contract by the Government and the building trade as a whole for the construction of workers' dwellings.

Diplomatic relations between Mexico and Great Britain are entirely suspended. The two Governments came to an impasse because of differences between Herbert C. Cummins, British diplomatic agent in charge of his country's legation in Mexico, and the Mexican authorities. The Obregón Government states that two years



Keystone

H. A. CUNARD CUMMINS

The British Chargé d'Affaires who has left Mexico as a result of the dispute between the British and Mexican Governments

ago they informed the London Foreign Office that Mr. Cummins was persona non grata and asked for his withdrawal. They also declare that subsequent difficulties between the two countries were largely due to his antagonistic attitude. The immediate break came as the result of efforts of the British agent to protect Mrs. H. E. R. Evans, a British subject, against alleged persecution by Mexican officials. Mr. Cummins was ordered out of the country, refused to leave, and for more than a week was practically besieged in the British Legation. On June 15 the United States Government was requested to arrange for the withdrawal of Mr. Cummins and to take charge of the legation and its archives during the absence of any British representative in Mexico City. The Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons that it had been his intention to send a mission to Mexico to investigate and if possible settle the questions at issue between the Obregón Government and his own, but that in view of what had happened this action would be impossible. He characterized the behavior of the Mexican Government as "inexcusable."

Great Britain is still of the opinion that the alteration of American battleships to permit in-

creased elevation of the guns of their main armament is contrary to the terms of the Washington agreement. The position of the British Government is based upon Part 3, Section 1-D, of the Washington Treaty, which reads in part: "No alteration in side armor, in calibre, number or general type of mounting of the main armament shall be permitted." However, it has been announced that no formal objections to the proposed increase in gun elevation of American battleships will be lodged by the British Ambassador until and unless Congress authorizes the proposed alterations.

The British public and Government are still interested in experiments with the helicopter. On June 16 a plane constructed for the Air Ministry by an English inventor was tested at Aldershot, and is said to have met the official tests successfully. Elaborate precautions were taken by the Ministry to keep the trial secret.

The British Treasury has started work upon an order to mint 45,000,000 coins for the Soviet Government. The terms of the contract compel Russia to furnish the necessary silver and alloy and to pay for the work on delivery. The coins are 1, 2 and 5 ruble pieces, and their design is the work of an Englishman, although suggested by the Soviet.

Official figures indicate an epidemic of "sleeping sickness" (encephalitis lethargica) in England and Wales. During the seven weeks which ended May 17, 1,715 cases of this disease were reported, with a considerable number of deaths.

IRELAND

THE Irish Free State is to have its own diplomatic representative at Washington. The new envoy will hold the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary, will present credentials from the British Crown as well as a letter from the Government of the Free State, and will deal only with matters solely affecting the Free State. The arrangement, which is based upon the Canadian precedent, was made through the British Embassy at Washington and was willingly assented to by the United State Government. English opinion upon this new recognition of Southern Ireland's autonomous position is divided. A Government spokesman in the House of Lords declared that "careful provisions had been made for governing the relations between the British and Free State Governments and between the British Ambassador in Washington and the Irish Minister, and for dealing with cases where their respective functions might overlap." Critics of the Government, however, declare that the move is but another step toward republicanism and independence, and that it opens the door to infinite diplomatic complexities. It has been announced that Professor Smiddy of Cork would

be the first occupant of the new post provided he is *persona grata* to the United States.

The British Government has taken two steps toward a settlement of the troublesome Irish boundary question. The first was to appoint Mr. Justice Feetham, a distinguished member of the South African Supreme Court, as Chairman of the Boundary Commission, and second to ask the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to decide what was the constitutional position in view of the refusal of the Northern Government to appoint a representative on the commission. The committee will be strengthened for the consideration of this question by the addition of Mr. Justice Duff of the Supreme Court of Canada and Sir Adrian Knox, Chief Justice of Australia. The Government seeks to discover if there is any constitutional method of bringing the commission into existence so long as the Ministers of Northern Ireland maintain their refusal to appoint a representative to sit upon it. The hope is expressed that the two Irish leaders may come to some agreement independently of its decision.

John O'Byrne Jr. has been appointed Attorney General of the Irish Free State to succeed Hugh Kennedy, K. C., who has been made Lord Chief Justice.

On June 24 a terrific tornado swept through Belfast destroying much property and injuring a number of persons. Such a visitation is unprecedented in the history of the city.

CANADA

STRIKING to compel the Government to accede to their full demands in a wage controversy, the postal workers of Eastern Canada demoralized the mail service of that part of the Dominion between June 18 and June 29. Toronto and Montreal and the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec generally were hardest hit. In the end the strikers yielded to the firmness of the Government and returned to work individually and unconditionally. The broad question of the right of organized Government employes to strike to the detriment of national and public interests seems not to have been definitely at issue, or even prominently raised in connection with this walkout.

Emigration from Canada to the United States was brought temporarily to a stop July 1 when the new American immigration law went into effect. Hundreds of aliens desiring to cross the border were unable to do so because consular visas were lacking and the United States Consul General at Montreal had not been advised of the quota allotments affecting British subjects in Canada. Statistics recently issued reveal an increase in immigration into Canada, the immigrants in April totaling 19,330, an increase of 103 per cent. as compared with last April. British arrivals during the month were 9,410. The

Canadian Bank of Commerce has issued a report stating that the immigration of American farmers into Canada is increasing.

Closer trade relations, fostered by reciprocal tariff preferences, between Canada and the Fiji Islands and Australia were urged at the annual meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association by representatives of the Governments of these two members of the empire.

American manufacturers will be given special service in the Canadian market by a new office to be opened in Ottawa by the Department of Commerce. Lynn W. Meekins, for the past two years New England district manager of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, has been appointed Trade Commissioner to Canada and will have charge of the new work.

An incident connected with the Canadian visit of the British naval squadron which is encircling the globe for the purpose of giving the dominions a first-hand view of a unit of the British fleet illustrates the sensitiveness of many Canadians to any seeming dictation from Great Britain in matters of defense. Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Field, commanding the visiting squadron, having been reported by the press to have declared that he personally believed that Canada should equip and maintain four cruisers, two upon the West coast and two upon the East coast, the Minister of National Defense promised incensed members of the Dominion House of Commons that the Government would "take whatever course may be deemed best in order to assert the well-recognized practice in these matters." More than 135,000 persons visited the vessels of the squadron while it was in British Columbia waters.

As the result of a plebiscite in British Columbia a proposal to permit the sale of beer by the glass under Government control was defeated, and temperance advocates declare that the open bar is gone for good in that province.

NEWFOUNDLAND

REORGANIZATION of the public services and the purification of politics are the chief planks in the program of Mr. Walter Monroe, the new Prime Minister of Newfoundland. The new Government comes in with a substantial majority in the Legislature, the recent election having given Mr. Monroe twenty-five seats and Mr. Hickman, the former Premier, ten. The alleged corruption of the Government under the Hickman régime was the chief issue in the election.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE days of high adventure in South Africa are recalled by a Government coup which recently resulted in the capture of a gang which has been carrying on an illicit traffic in gold

between Johannesburg and the coast in motor cars. It is expected that the capture will greatly reduce the heavy trade in gold stolen from the mines.

On July 1 a reciprocal copyright arrangement between the United States and the Union of South Africa became effective.

[The result of the South African elections in which General Smuts was defeated is dealt with in a special article by E. D. Morel in another part of this magazine.]

The first general election of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia resulted in a decisive victory for the Government candidates. The new Legislative Assembly consists of twenty-six Ministerialists and twenty-four Independents. The Rhodesian Labor Party carried no seats, although it put fifteen candidates in the field. Of these candidates, ten were railway men or ex-railway men, and the domination of the party by the Rhodesian railway workers' union, together with its constitutional provision requiring all candidates to exercise their office in accordance with the orders of the Central Executive of the party were probably responsible for this lack of success at the polls. The finances of the colony are so sound that in the first session it will be unnecessary to propose any fresh taxation.

AUSTRALIA

DISPATCHES from Australia and New Zealand report that the decision of the British Government to abandon, or at least to postpone, the establishment of a great naval base at Singapore has aroused a storm of protest in those dominions. Both countries feel insecure in their Asiatic exclusion policies, and fear that in case of serious trouble with a great Asiatic nation they might not be able to defend themselves. In the Australian House of Representatives Prime Minister Bruce declared that in the budget the Government proposed to submit a program covering five years, embracing three arms of defense, with munitions, and embodying a definite objective. A feature of the program is the construction of two 10,000-ton cruisers to replace the Melbourne and the Sydney.

The South Australian Labor Government is preparing an extensive program of legislation for the approaching session of the Legislature. Among other things it proposes to provide for free education clear through a university course, either literary or technical, with a free issue of books and equipment. It also proposes to enact legislation requiring that recommendations for knighthood be endorsed by both houses of Parliament. Bills authorizing an extensive house-building scheme, State insurance, a State legal bureau and legal regulation of the price and quality of gas and electricity will also be introduced.

In Western Australia the elections for the

Legislative Assembly resulted in a victory for the Labor Party. Twenty-seven Labor members were returned, while the three opposing parties only captured twenty-three seats between them.

The population of Australia increased 115,000 during the past year, and on March 31 totaled 5,750,000, a growth of 341,000 since the census of April, 1921. Mr. Bruce, the Federal Prime Minister, has recently outlined a scheme for accelerating the immigration from Great Britain, including free passage out for the children of immigrants under 12 years of age, and half fare for children between the ages of 12 and 16 years.

INDIA

AN intense struggle has been in progress between C. R. Das and Mahatma Gandhi for control of the Indian National Congress, whose governing committee met at Ahmedabad on May 27. Das now stands forth as the leader of the Swaraj (home rule) party of violence, while Gandhi still maintains the non-violence creed of the Congress and his own belief that India will not be ready for Swaraj until the people have acquired greater self-control and lay more stress upon spinning. In a test of strength over Gandhi's resolution that members of the committee and officers of the Congress should be confined to those who personally engaged in spinning at least half an hour each day, the Mahatma proved by carrying his proposal that he still is a dominant figure in the home rule movement. When the Das contingent walked out of the meeting, however, he moved that the resolution be rescinded, apparently to prevent a complete breach in the Congress. The position of Mr. Das and his extremist followers seems to have been weakened among many Indians by the passage of his Sirajgani resolution, which practically expressed sympathy with the assassination of a British official.

The Indian Assembly adjourned after a session which was marked by a surprising lack of friction between the Swaraj leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru, and the Government, and an obvious breach within the ranks of the Parliamentary Swaraj party. A British correspondent writes: "Although the session of the Legislature was brief, it was not uninteresting, owing to the clear drift of most of the Swarajists toward co-operation, a drift shown by their serving on committees and voting. There was also a considerable drawing together outside the Chamber in functions of a political and social character."

Meanwhile, the composition of the Constitutional Inquiry Committee which has been instituted by the Government of India to study and report upon the administrative working of the Government of India has been announced. The body is composed of eight distinguished

Indians and British residents of India serving under the Chairmanship of Sir Alexander Muddiman. The committee is authorized to report on the feasibility of remedying defects in the working of the act by changes in the rules under the act or in changing the act itself in detail.

France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

Professor of History, University of Minnesota

FRANCE

FOLLOWING the tumultuous events of June, the French people settled down during July to await, in comparative quietude, the opening moves of the new Ministry. The precarious character of the Radical Coalition Government, which was strikingly indicated by the election of Gaston Doumergue, a Conservative, to the Presidency, was demonstrated anew when a misunderstanding arose in Paris relative to concessions said to have been made by Premier Herriot at a conference on reparations with Premier MacDonald at Chequers Court in England during July. The resentment of the Conservatives placed Premier Herriot's Ministry in jeopardy; to save the French Cabinet Premier MacDonald made a hurried trip to Paris on July 8 and held an all-night conference with M. Herriot. On July 9 it was announced that a complete accord had been reached.

Domestically, however, the advent of the Radical Government has caused scarcely a ripple in France; indications appeared to justify the prediction of M. Raymond Recouly in "L'Illustration": "A new Ministry in France with Socialist members will within twenty-four hours be behaving exactly as their predecessors behaved." Nothing of a startling nature followed the transfer of portfolios. In his first speech after taking office Premier Herriot said: "Our Cabinet is animated by a kindly spirit toward Germany and we are ready to assist to the best of our ability the young German democracy, but we will display merciless severity toward the German Nationalists." In another speech he declared that the French could not leave the Ruhr until Germany had fulfilled the guarantees provided in the Dawes program. The appointment of General Nollet, former head of the Interallied Control Commission in Germany, as Minister of War was seen as a direct warning to Berlin that the new Cabinet did not intend to follow any policy of weakness; his choice drew an explosion of wrath from the German press, wherein the General was denounced as a "shameless militarist and a war-baiter" and "Germany's most irritating foe."

M. Herriot on June 19 received a vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies, 313 to 234,

and three days later he went to England to attend the Chequers Court discussion. One of the outstanding moves by the Premier on his return was a request on June 28 that the Chamber vote 205,000,000 francs to cover the occupation of the Ruhr, which he declared "could not be evacuated immediately without abandoning the rights of France." This indication that the Poincaré policy was not for the present to be reversed provoked such wrath among the Socialists that they refused to vote at all upon the measure, while the Communists actually voted against the Government. If the Nationalist Opposition had desired, it could then have defeated the Ministry by about twenty votes; its leaders, however, preferred to let M. Herriot remain in power rather than to put themselves in the position of voting against the Ruhr occupation. The Ministry was saved, therefore, by the vote of the Opposition and the measure carried 456 to 26.

The Premier, however, suffered a setback on July 1, when his candidate was defeated for the Presidency of the Army Committee of the Chamber; this position is important in view of the proposed reduction of the term of military service. Political experts predicted further trouble for M. Herriot when, late in June, the price of bread continued steadily rising despite the pre-election promises of the anti-Poincaré elements that "if they prevailed the cost of living would fall."

Premier Herriot came triumphantly through the political storms of early July and satisfied himself with a few public appeals in which he outlined the policies of the Administration. The Premier directly answered his critics in a speech at Troyes on July 6, asserting that "the Government should not be expected to discover in a few weeks, after so many disillusionings, the miraculous solutions that so far nobody else has found."

The Chamber of Deputies held its first hearing on the Government's Amnesty bill on July 9; so heated was the feeling on both sides with respect to the bill that Paul Painlevé, President of the Chamber, was compelled to suspend the sitting. Socialist and minority members engaged in pugilistic encounters and ushers had to be summoned to obtain order. Succeeding sessions were marked by almost equal violence; on July 13,

after an all-night session, the Chamber voted for the adoption of the clauses granting amnesties to former Premier Joseph Caillaux and to M. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior.

The high personal honor in which ex-President Millerand is held was attested on June 26 by his election as a member of the Council of Advocates of the French Bar Association; among those who voted for him were numerous members who aided in the campaign which caused him to resign as Chief Executive.

Romain Rolland, the distinguished author, has issued a public statement denouncing the reported use of his name and writings to justify the renewed persecution of the Russian "Intellectuals" by the Soviet Government. He declared that if this were true it was "a colossal exhibition of shamelessness," and that he has been always "on the side of all the persecuted against all persecutors, without distinction of race, religion or nationality."

The resentment exhibited by American sailors and other American visitors in Paris at the equalitarian treatment of negroes in Parisian dance halls and similar public places has been roundly denounced by the French press. *L'Homme Libre* on July 1 declared that it was outrageous for foreigners to pretend "to make laws and punish black Frenchmen"; that "it was ridiculous in the present epoch, after the war, in which both whites and blacks poured out their blood on the European battlefields, that such prejudices should exist."

It was announced in Washington on June 30 that Secretary of State Hughes and the French Ambassador, M. Jusserand, had signed a treaty between France and the United States to prevent the smuggling of liquors into the latter country, the agreement being similar to that already made between the United States and Great Britain.

The American flag was raised on July 4 for the first time over the new American-owned embassy in Paris; the building will be ready for occupancy next Winter.

Reports for the first three months of 1924 gave further cause for anxiety to those who have been disturbed over the stationary population of the French nation. The deaths registered outnumbered the births in the same period by 24,039, although for the same period in 1923 the births had been more numerous by 6,069. All European countries, recent figures show, have suffered a large increase of deaths in these three months; the high mortality is blamed upon the extremely bad weather conditions and the frequency of influenza epidemics.

Economically the position of the republic appeared to improve steadily. After some gyrations following the fall of the Poincaré Ministry and the uncertainty as to the fiscal policy of its successors, on July 7 the value of the franc seemed fairly stabilized at about 5.15 cents, New

York exchange, while the French Government "external" 8 per cent. bonds, which had been seriously depreciated ever since the entry into the Ruhr, were selling at about 102½ upon that date.

That the French nation was being heavily taxed to tide over the post-war fiscal crisis was indicated in a list of income tax figures recently made public by the Ministry of Finance. In 1919 there were only about 655,000 income tax payers contributing together about 571,259,000 francs; in 1921 the figures had risen to 1,049,000 and 1,472,000,000, respectively; in 1923 there were 1,308,000 taxpayers who paid no less than 1,923,172,000 francs. Since 1923 nearly all taxes have been heavily increased.

The French High Commission in the Rhineland has issued a statement which refutes the allegation that the Franco-Belgian occupation of German territories has been economically worthless. During 1923 it is claimed that from the occupied territories the Allies have received 874,871,059 French francs in cash or kind, that in the first three months of 1924 they have obtained no less than 1,013,518,158 francs, and that for the same period there is still collectable as "sure and early receipts" a total of 97,885,626 francs. Under Franco-Belgian control it is claimed that the railroads of the region, which in 1923 operated at a deficit, during the first three months in 1924 brought in a profit of 59,844,658 francs.

Pierre Caziot, the eminent statistician, recently published in *La Journée Industrielle* a significant analysis of the value of land in France, showing how far the nation is changing from its former status as a country mainly devoted to agriculture. In 1800 he computes that "land represented at least one-half of the wealth of the country." After the war of 1870 the value of landed properties did not actually decline, although those of city properties greatly increased, but between 1880 and 1893 there was a crisis in French farming, mainly connected with the low price of wheat, which gave agricultural land values a blow from which they have never recovered. By 1914 the value of rural property had so shrunk that it represented only about 25 per cent. of the total of French assets. At present the war has thrown the balance against the farmers still more heavily. The rural population has continued to decline and today the value of land represents "only from 14 to 15 per cent. of our national assets." A confirmation of these computations would establish the fact that the preponderance of the peasant-farmer element in the life of the French nation is drawing to an end.

L'Europe Nouvelle in a recent issue has published an authoritative article by a "Traveler," setting forth the extreme difficulties faced by the French Administration in Syria, where the friction between the different religions is constant and where the French administrators have

been compelled to "attempt the setting up of the public life of democracies in a mosaic of races and religions." The writer freely confesses that the problems have been great, but he urges that under no circumstances ought France to abandon Syria. Retention is essential, the author claims, for the sake both of the native races and France herself. If a railroad could be built across the 500 miles of desert between Damascus and Bagdad a convenient and highly profitable artery could be opened toward the Farther East, it is argued. Still more important, however, would be the air route from Europe to India, which must normally pass directly through Beirut. Such an air line could bring Paris within seventy-four hours' flight from Bombay and the importance of Syria to the world's communications would become self-evident.

BELGIUM

WILLIAM PHILLIPS, the new American Ambassador to Belgium, was officially received by King Albert on June 5. In acknowledging the sovereign's welcome the Ambassador referred to the recent Huguenot-Walloon tercentenary festival, which, he said, "recalled the ancient bonds between the two nations." A mid-summer pilgrimage, incident to the festival, was announced by prominent Americans in July; the itinerary included Belgium, Holland, the Rhineland and the battlefields of France.

Official figures recently published lent confirmation to the Belgian claim that the national finances are again in a relatively satisfactory condition. Public expenses have been reduced from 9,492,000,060 francs in 1920 to less than 5,500,000,000 in 1924. This figure covers every kind of outlay; the ordinary domestic expenses have been kept down to about 300,000,000 francs under the estimate, and by adding to these the collections from Germany about 700,000,000 francs has been rendered available for paying off the

charges for reparations. Premier Theunis assured the Cabinet Council recently that in 1925 all charges would be met by receipts from purely Belgian sources, and that all payments from Germany would go to the liquidation and amortization of the debt. During the past year, added the Premier, there has been no need for any loan, "and so Belgium has restored her finances to a condition similar to that in 1914, and that, too, by her own unaided efforts."

In a recent address before the British Institute of International Affairs ex-Foreign Minister Jasper of Belgium pointed out that, while the "problem of reparations is a temporary one, that of the security of France and Belgium is everlasting." The London Daily Telegraph has drawn attention to the fact that Belgium has been largely thrown into the arms of France on the reparations issue, because "while France concluded with Belgium a pact virtually guaranteeing the latter against aggression, no undertaking to this effect has been given by Great Britain to King Albert's kingdom, which under the Treaty of Versailles had lost, together with its pristine neutrality, Great Britain's formal guaranty of the integrity of Belgian soil." The diplomatic correspondent of The Daily Telegraph urged strongly that some formal assurance of renewed protection to Belgium, even if it were only a simple public declaration by the British Premier, would go far toward winning Belgian opinion to a more cordial attitude as regards London policies in other matters.

The Belgian Government announced on July 6 that it would serve as a mediator between France and Great Britain in an effort to find a basis of agreement satisfactory to both of these powers, by which the Dawes plan might be made operative; to this end a formula was drafted offering a standard by which to determine whether Germany was in default under the Dawes plan, and by which to fix punishment in case default were established.

Germany and Austria

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD
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GERMANY

THE iron grip of France on the Ruhr was slightly relaxed when on June 27 the new French Premier, M. Herriot, instructed General Degoutte, commander of the Franco-Belgian forces in the occupied territory, to permit, with few exceptions, the return to their homes

of the 210,000 Germans expelled since the beginning of occupation in January, 1923. The exceptions are those expelled for serious non-political crimes. At the same time it was announced that the sentences of all Germans condemned to prison for taking part in the passive resistance program without criminal violence would be suspended, and that persons convicted for crimes of

violence would have their cases reviewed for the purpose of exercising the largest measure of clemency. M. Herriot had previously authorized the return of 60,000 Germans expelled from Rhineland territory exclusive of the Ruhr. In allowing the exiles to return, the French Premier takes the position that exploitation of the Ruhr should be abandoned in order that the Dawes plan may be put in operation, and that, regardless of the merits of the expulsion of those who interfered with this exploitation, there is no use in prolonging their deportation.

These measures have in some degree been offset by the continued activity of the French and Belgian military authorities in search of evidence of nationalist or militarist movements in the occupied zones. The French authorities, for instance, in the course of a few days searched 250 houses, arrested forty persons and seized numerous documents. The Belgians during the same interval made more than 100 raids. Among other things, the French officially announced that they found German students who were first taught the use of a rapid-fire gun and later trained with the Reichswehr. On July 5 twenty-one Germans, charged with belonging to proscribed secret organizations and with recruiting for the Reichswehr in the occupied area, were sentenced by a French court-martial to prison terms ranging from six months to ten years each and to pay fines of from 500 to 50,000 marks. Protests that the occupation authorities are requisitioning more quarters have been published by the German press. Fear is expressed that the requisitioning means that the French do not intend to evacuate the Düsseldorf, Ruhrort and Duisburg bridgeheads when they leave the Ruhr. The officials of these cities and the Chambers of Commerce have appealed to Foreign Minister Stresemann to see that the bridgeheads receive the same treatment as the Ruhr.

After long negotiations the former German Government with Dr. Marx as Chancellor was confirmed by President Ebert. Important discussions in the Reichstag were interrupted during the month by Communist demonstrations. A vote of confidence for the Cabinet was passed with 247 against 183 votes. In interviews given to the press by the Chancellor and Foreign Minister both announced the acceptance by the Government of the Dawes plan and pointed out that General Dawes had laid down the re-establishment of the unity of Germany as foundation of his report as well as the return of a large part of those expelled from the Ruhr and release of the prisoners made by the French. The French Government rejected the German proposal for the two Governments, the German and the French, to negotiate on the question of the Micum contracts. Negotiations between the German Miners Union and the Micum were reopened.

The decline of prices continues. A shortage of credits was not lifted. New encounters occurred between banks and industrial concerns. The bann on travel to foreign countries was lifted.

Apparently the series of diplomatic exchanges between Germany and the Allies on the subject of military control have at last been concluded. In a sharp note the Allies in March demanded (1) reorganization of the German police force; (2) transformation of the war material factories; (3) surrender of the remainder of non-authorized war material; (4) transference to the Allies of documents relating to war material existing at the time of the armistice, and (5) promulgation of new laws prohibiting the import and export of war material, and putting organization and recruiting of the army in harmony with the terms of the Versailles Treaty. To cap the climax, the note demanded in conclusion that Germany consent to an allied investigation of the military status of the Reich.

In making these demands M. Herriot, a pacifist at heart, professed to see in Germany's non-obedience to the military provisions of the treaty a danger to the peace of Europe; while Mr. MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, beheld in the movements of the German militarists danger of a restoration of the reactionaries in Germany as well as resultant peril to the tranquillity of the world.

The German reply, which had to be made before June 30, agreed to the allied demands, but made three reservations: (1) A month's delay before the resumption of allied control in order that public opinion might calm down. (2) Work to begin with inspection of the factories. (3) That the general investigation be limited to the five points mentioned in the allied note. The Government stated that it accepted the inquiry, first, as a means of putting an end to allied military control, which is to be superseded by the League of Nations inspection as provided by Article 213 of the Versailles Treaty; and, secondly, because it desired to accelerate in every way possible the execution of the Dawes report. The note further emphatically declared that Germany has no concealed military forces or equipment and that she is not planning a war of revenge. The so-called secret military organizations the note labeled as physical culture societies which were giving their members the training, discipline and obedience no longer to be obtained through practicing the goose-step in imperial military training camps. The former army training in Germany, the note states, had not only military value but great civic value, and it is for the purpose of capitalizing this training for citizenship that the physical culture associations exist. Between these associations and the army there is no connection. Dr. Stresemann,

the Foreign Minister, did not deny the existence of strong militaristic organizations and promised that the Government would curb their activities, but declared that their principal armament was "banners and insignia." Their development was largely due, he said, to the severe Poincaré policy against Germany. In allied circles it is believed improbable that the investigation can be finished by Sept. 30, as Germany requests.

The Nationalist Party has decided no longer to obstruct acceptance and the carrying out by the German Government of the Dawes scheme. This change in the Nationalist attitude came as the result of a flood of letters and telegrams from Nationalists throughout Germany, imploring party leaders to give up opposition against the three bills designed to make the Dawes report operative—the bill transferring the German railways to international administration, the bill creating the new German gold bank note, and the bill mortgaging a certain percentage of German industry as a partial reparation guarantee. Up to the time of their change in policy the Nationalists contended that the German Constitution requires a two-thirds majority for enacting these bills into law. The Government, on the other hand, hoped the judicial authorities would rule that only an ordinary Reichstag majority was necessary. Prominent among the Nationalist element eager for termination of opposition to the Dawes report were the Agrarians and Industrialists, who foresee economic and industrial collapse and even civil war if obstructionist tactics continue indefinitely. Shrewd Nationalists like Hergt, Westarp, Hoetsch and others, with an eye to the future, point out that it would never do for the Nationalists to let the other parties claim credit for having brought about an understanding between Germany and her former enemies. As a sop to the "die-hard" element among the Nationalists, word has been passed around that strong opposition will be made against Germany's joining the League of Nations. That Germany will be admitted to the League in case she shows an inclination to fulfill the obligations imposed by the Dawes report seems to be a foregone conclusion in European political circles.

At a conference of the Federal Economic Council, held June 24, ways and means were discussed for restoring German trade, especially exports, to the pre-war level. Representatives of merchants and financiers declared that no radical change in the present stagnation is possible unless the list of articles the importation of which was prohibited during the war and the subsequent revolution was canceled. Of the 1,000 prohibited articles originally on the list, it was pointed out that 400 still remained. Representatives of German industry declared that abolition of the list of prohibited imports would mean that Germany would be swamped with foreign

goods produced cheaper abroad than in Germany. This aroused a storm of protest from the merchants present, who wanted to know why the Germany which before the war produced the cheapest goods should not be able now to do the same. Since wages certainly are less than before the war, the merchants said, the only reason could be that the manufacturers' profits are now unduly large. It was announced that the Government favors abolition of the list, and that it has worked out a new tariff to guard against the dumping of foreign goods into Germany.

A quantity of percussion caps for hand grenades, Mauser revolvers with ammunition and many documents, said to be of a revolutionary and incriminating character, were found July 4 by police who searched the private lockers in rooms of the German Reichstag and Prussian Landtag buildings set aside for the Communist members of those bodies. The raid resulted from information received by the police in connection with proceedings now under way against members of the Central Directorate of the German Communist Party for two murders actually committed and others alleged to have been plotted by Communists. In asking permission to search the Reichstag and Landtag premises, the officials informed the Presidents of the two bodies that already eighty bundles of documents incriminating Communists were in possession of the police. The Presidents also were told the names of certain Communists suspected of being concerned in murder plots and of men whom the Communists planned to murder. The Presidents thereupon waived immunity of the Reichstag and Landtag members. In justifying this action, President Leinert of the Landtag, amid jeers and hisses from the Communists, said: "Immunity is always to be defended unless thereby the general welfare is jeopardized. But as I will not protect murderers, I permitted the police to make the search." The Prussian Minister of Interior, Dr. Severing, also spoke in the Landtag despite Communist howls and hisses. According to him the material seized by the police may show not only plots to murder individuals, but also to overthrow the republic. "The Communist acts hurt the workers most of all," declared Dr. Severing. Whereupon the Communist members yelled: "The workers are going to break your neck!"

The threatened general strike of German railway men on disputes over low wages and longer hours has been settled. The Government gave way on the ten-hour day, but refused to pay for the ninth hour at a higher rate than the day's wages. A small concession was made in wage increases, equivalent to about two-fifths of that demanded by the men.

Ultra-monarchist Bavaria has chosen Dr. Held, formerly a violinist, as Premier.

Dr. Adolf Barkan, Emeritus Professor of Oph-

thalmology of Leland Stanford Junior University, has been elected an honorary citizen of Ludwig-Maximilian University at Munich in recognition of his services in alleviating distress among students. Dr. Barkan, a Hungarian by birth, is a member of numerous scientific societies in Europe and America.

AUSTRIA

GR^{EAT} bitterness was expressed by the entire Austrian press when the Council of the League of Nations refused to give a definite decision on all questions concerning reconstruction and the abolition of international control. Despite this attitude on the part of the press, Herr Grüneberger, Minister of Finance, expressed satisfaction with what had been accomplished at Geneva. The fact that the Council had revoked its original decision to bind Austria to a maximum expenditure of 350,000,000 gold crowns as a normal budget was, in his opinion, a great victory for Austria. The period of international control, he further stated, could only be decided when the League had recognized a permanently balanced budget. In order to ascertain this the League will send a financial commission to Austria.

Vienna financial circles were somewhat startled when late in June the Deposit Bank, one of the city's largest financial houses, closed its doors. In May, when its difficulties became known, it was taken over by five of the leading banking institutions of Vienna in the hope that a crash and resultant panic might be averted.

Upon examination it was found that in recent years the Deposit Bank had abandoned its former conservatism and engaged in reckless and even wild speculation. Credits, it appeared, had been granted to industrial concerns at preposterously high figures, especially to Polish coal mines in Silesia. It was also ascertained that the bank was a party to several litigations which were bound to entail heavy expenditures. In view of these facts the assisting banks decided to withdraw their support rather than jeopardize their own resources. Announcement of their withdrawal depressed the Boerse considerably, but the depression was of short duration. All other banks and private industrial concerns which have adhered to conservative methods are unshaken in credits, although some of them have experienced slight difficulty in this respect.

That the disturbance on the Boerse was not due to business depression is shown by both bank deposits and unemployment figures. In nine leading Vienna banks, the principal provincial and Vienna savings banks and in two cooperative savings associations the total of savings deposits during May was 62,000,000 kronen, an increase of 5,000,000 kronen over April and 19,000,000 kronen over January. At the end of April the number of persons unemployed in Austria totaled 106,264; at the end of May, 84,180; at the end of June, 63,000. Unemployed workers in Vienna alone numbered only 35,000.

Chancellor Seipel, who was seriously wounded on June 1, is making rapid progress toward recovery. Thirty-one lives were lost in a coal mine disaster near Gloggnitz on June 26.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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THE kidnapping and murder of Deputy Matteotti has aroused a storm that has brought

Fascismo and its leader into dangers which are still threatening the existence of the Mussolini Government. Matteotti, the young Secretary General of the Unitarian Socialists, had been a striking figure in the tumultuous fortnight during which the new Parliament had been in session. He had attacked the validity of the elections which gave the Fascisti their two-thirds majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and, as a minority member of the Budget Committee, he was in opposition to the Government's recommendations. He was scheduled to speak in the debate on the budget, which was to begin on June 11

On June 10, at 3 o'clock, Matteotti left his home on the Tiber embankment in Rome, telling his wife that he was going out to buy cigarettes. He did not return. His disappearance was not generally known until two days later, when it developed that three men, who had made no report of the matter to the police, had seen a group of five men seize Matteotti and throw him into a closed automobile, which was immediately driven away with great speed toward the north. Through the three witnesses of the kidnapping and through the fingermarks in the blood-stained automobile, which was returned to its garage, the kidnappers, all of whom are now in jail, were identified. The leader of the gang was

Amerigo Dumini. Later evidence has led to the arrest of the men who are held responsible for the instigation of the crime. These men are Filippo Filippelli, editor of the Fascista paper the *Corriere Italiano*, and Giovanni Marinelli and Cesare Rossi, both of whom had been connected with the management of that newspaper. The two latter had been in the closest association with Mussolini and the direction of the Fascista Party. Marinelli was Financial Secretary of the party and Rossi, until suspicion of connection with the murder fell on him, was head of the press bureau of the Department of the Interior. Both men were members of the famous "Pentarchia," a group of five Fascisti who chose the Government members of the new Parliament. Suspicion also fell on another member of the "Pentarchia," Aldo Finzi, who was Under Secretary of Internal Affairs. Though the suspicions have not taken concrete form, Finzi was required to resign, and, because of the refusal of the Opposition to participate, his request to have his case examined by a parliamentary court of honor has not been granted. General de Bono, Director General of Italian Police and Commander of the Fascista Militia, was charged with dilatoriness in pursuing the criminals and was therefore asked by Mussolini to resign. The police were undoubtedly slow in making arrests. Filippelli succeeded in escaping to the north and was finally arrested by the police of Genoa in a motor boat in which he was trying to reach the French coast. Rossi resigned his office in charge of the Press Bureau at once, but remained in hiding a week in Rome before giving himself up.

The later investigation of the crime has been conducted with great energy. The murder seems to have taken place on the road between Rome and Viterbo, at a spot a few miles from Rome, where the Deputy's railroad pass was found. The car seems then to have continued on its way to the north and to have reached the Lago di Vico, south of Viterbo. The fate of Matteotti's body, about which the wildest speculations were current in Italy, is as yet a secret, though there is reason to suppose that the police have some knowledge on the subject. The original intention seems to have been simply to kidnap Matteotti so that he might be conveniently out of the way during the parliamentary discussions of the next few days, but the Deputy's vigorous struggles against his assailants led to his murder.

The particular motive for the crime seems to have been fear of revelations that Matteotti was expected to make in his speech on the budget. A letter from the Deputy, published in *The London Statist* on June 7, gives some idea of the line which he might have pursued. In that letter he charged that the much-boasted-of savings in the budget were apparent rather than real; that, though the employes of the State had actually diminished in numbers, their cost to the State had increased,

and that there was still a deficit of 900,000,000 lire in the operation of the railroads. The only genuine improvement in the state of the Italian Treasury was, he asserted, due to the increased receipts from taxes levied by the preceding Government. At the last meeting of the Committee on the Budget he had asked for an explanation of the deficit of 2,000,000,000 lire in the budget, presented after the King had declared that a balance had been established. It was believed that in the speech which he was about to make Matteotti would reveal graft in high Fascista quarters, and that he possessed documents to substantiate his charges. The capture of these documents, which, according to some accounts, were in his possession when he left his house, is asserted to have been the immediate object of his kidnapping. The special Fascista interests represented by the *Corriere Italiano*, a paper which was said to be financed by a group of wealthy Genovese, were presumably to have been among the objects of his attack. The owners of this paper were thought to have been especially interested in the much-criticized Fascista decree that permitted the reopening of the gambling houses, a decree which it was lately announced will not be put into operation for the present. It is noteworthy that the *Corriere Italiano*, the first paper to comment on Matteotti's disappearance, tried to forestall suspicion by suggesting that the Deputy had gone to Austria.

The five men employed to remove Matteotti seem to have had their part in many of the most violent acts of terrorism attributed to the Fascisti. Dumini has been recognized by Senator Bergamini and Naldi by Senator Frassati as the men who attacked them a short time ago. Dumini and his band are held responsible for the sacking of Nitti's house and the attack on Nitti's son, for the flogging of Deputy Amendola, and for a variety of other acts that have brought discredit on the Fascisti.

In the Chamber on June 12, when Mussolini announced the disappearance of the Deputy and the uncertainty as to his fate, there was a tumultuous scene, in which a Republican Deputy accused the Prime Minister of being an accomplice in the crime. As a result of the violence of the Fascisti that followed, the Opposition, which in the fortnight that had passed had frequently threatened such a course, absented itself from the subsequent sessions of Parliament. In their absence the majority voted the budget with its deficit of 2,000,000,000 lire, after which the session was closed, apparently for a long recess. The Opposition, except for the Communist delegates, who failed in their attempt to bring about a general strike, united in choosing as their Chairman the veteran Unitarian Socialist, Turati, and decided in a spirit of moderation to await developments. Mussolini seemed disposed to be concilia-

tory. He lifted the censorship which was placed upon foreign telegraphic communications just after the murder and disbanded the National Militia, whom he had assembled in Rome, ostensibly to welcome Ras Tafari, Regent of Abyssinia. He gave every evidence of the most vigorous efforts to hunt down and punish the men guilty of the murder. After the resignation of Finzi he appointed as Secretary of the Interior—a post he had hitherto held himself—Federzoni, a Liberal, who had identified himself with the Fascisti, a man who commands the greatest respect for his energy and character.

Mussolini addressed the Senate on June 24 in a tone that was very different from his recent threatening words on "Italy's last Parliamentary experiment." He appeared, indeed, as an apologist, seeking to show that other régimes and other nations had failed to check political violence, and as a defender of constitutionality. To the more or less official demands made by the Opposition he replied that he considered it the duty of the Government to remain at its post, though he was willing to concede that some changes in the Cabinet might be necessary. He refused to consider giving up the militia. The suggestion that Parliament be dissolved and a new general election be held would, he declared, if adopted, plunge the country into a political crisis that would devastate the life of the nation. He deplored the activity of the Opposition press. "As for me," he said, "I solemnly declare that the object of my general Government policy remains unchanged. It is to secure at any cost respect for the laws, a normal political situation, and national peace, to purge and purify the party, using unwearying vigilance day by day; to destroy with all possible energy the last remains of illegality." After Mussolini's speech the Government was attacked in a number of speeches, particularly by Senator Albertini, owner of the Milanese Liberal newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*, and by Count Sforza, a former Foreign Minister of Italy. Albertini, in a full review of Fascista policies, showed that Fascismo, depending on the force that its militia provided, rested entirely upon revolutionary methods, and concluded that a return to legality and normal times was impossible under such a régime. He concluded with a ringing defense of liberty and democracy. Sforza recalled the violent acts of the Fascisti, none of which had been punished, and many of which had actually been excused by Mussolini. He was called to order by Tittoni, President of the Senate, when he said that Mussolini's comments on faithful workers in Italy recalled the "good people" of the Este and Bourbons who relied on the Austrian lash. The vote of confidence asked for from the Senate was carried by 225 to 21, six Deputies abstaining from voting.

On June 25 Mussolini addressed the majority leaders. The absence of a few of his recent sup-

porters, including Salandra and the dramatist Sem Benelli, was significant. On this occasion he stated as a concession to the Opposition that the militia would henceforth swear allegiance to the King. If the withdrawal of the Opposition from Parliament was temporary, he declared, the situation could be cleared up, but if the withdrawal continued the state of affairs would be relatively serious. "I am not allowing myself any illusions," he said. "I think we must not look upon the situation with too much optimism. At bottom it is no longer a question of the assassination of Matteotti. It is clear that the ultimate object of the Opposition attack is our whole régime. These men have as their purpose the destruction of every political and moral force that resulted from the October revolution."

On the following day—a day that was made sacred to Matteotti, when all Italian workmen stopped their labors for ten minutes of silent tribute to the dead man—the Opposition Deputies met and in a manifesto condemned Mussolini's Government. Their resolution read in part as follows: "It is logically impossible to separate the origin of such a state of affairs from the political responsibility of the Government, which has sunk so low as to give its support to the men who today stand revealed as the instigators of Deputy Matteotti's murder. It is impossible to forget that the Constitution considers the President of the Council of Ministers responsible before Parliament and public opinion for the actions of his collaborators." The terms on which the Opposition would return to Parliament were that all party militias be abolished and that illegalities and violence be suppressed. The important condition is the first one, since Mussolini himself had already declared his intention of suppressing violence. Mussolini's previous plans to reorganize the militia and have its members swear fealty to the King did not satisfy the Opposition.

Since then Mussolini has announced that membership in the militia is to be open to every one and that its command is to be held by a regular army General. On June 30 the expected changes in the Cabinet were announced. They included the appointment of four new Ministers and a number of Under Secretaries. Casati, who replaces Gentile as Minister of Public Instruction, and Sarrochi, who succeeds Carnazza in the Ministry of Public Works, belong to the Liberals who have aligned themselves with Mussolini; Senator Nava, who replaces Corbino as Minister of National Economy, is one of the members of the Popular or Catholic Party who supported Mussolini when the Popular Party broke away from him. The Cabinet thus becomes more truly representative of the various groups that make up the Government majority. These changes in the militia and the Cabinet have also failed to satisfy the Parliamentary Opposition, who, at a meeting on July 1, decided to continue to refrain from participation

in Parliament. Mussolini's answer to that has been a vigorous measure that is in line with his attacks on the Opposition press and his comments on the function of the Opposition, which can, as he sees it, be "useful" if it will "criticize but not provoke." At the first meeting of the new Cabinet, on July 8, the censorship of the press was put in force. In a decree which the Cabinet approved on July 12, 1923, the censorship was authorized, but it was not then put into effect. The decree has met with stormy protest from the Opposition, which sees in it the most extreme weapon of dictatorship. The Press Association, under the Presidency of Beneivenga, has lodged a formal protest.

Meantime violence has by no means ceased. In Turin the house of Senator Frassati, editor of *La Stampa*, was raided. In Venice a group of Fascists broke into the house of the Socialist Vignado, who was collecting funds for a memorial to Matteotti. He was kidnapped and beaten, but brought back to his home next morning. Senators Sforza and Bergamini received mysterious warnings not to speak against Mussolini in the Senate. Deputy Farinacci of Cremona, leader of the extreme Fascists "savages," continued in his local paper his insistence on the censorship of the press, to which Mussolini has now yielded. Recently Farinacci aroused great indignation in the Opposition press by suggesting that if Mussolini were forced out

there would be a second march on Rome. Evidently Mussolini is in difficulty in meeting the Opposition on the one hand and the extremists of his own party on the other. Fascista gatherings held in various large cities, and especially in Bologna on June 22, made it clear that the party was still a factor to be reckoned with.

Matteotti's murder has produced a great impression outside Italy. The Deputy was well known and greatly admired in International Socialist gatherings. In May he attended the Socialist congress in Brussels, leaving Italy without the passport which was refused to him. In London the Labor Party held a meeting and condemned Matteotti's murder, sending a message of sympathy to the Italian Socialists. Prime Minister MacDonald's presence at that meeting caused unfavorable comment by Mussolini in his later speeches and led to questions in the House of Commons. Meetings of protest, largely attended, were held in many other cities. In Geneva the gathering, though warned by the Government to avoid a national insult to Italy, was accompanied by the greatest excitement. In Paris Communists and Socialists both met to denounce the murder. In New York a large meeting, held in Carnegie Hall under the auspices of the Italian Chamber of Labor, gave expression to denunciations of Mussolini and his régime that were so fierce that police intervention was necessary.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGC

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE Czechoslovak State Statistical Bureau published recently the final results of the census taken throughout the republic on Feb. 15, 1921. The total population is given as 13,613,172, and is distributed geographically as follows: Bohemia, 6,670,582; Moravia, 2,622,884; Silesia, 672,268; Slovakia, 3,000,870, and Ruthenia, 606,568; the racial composition is as follows: Czechoslovaks, 8,760,937 (65.5 per cent.); Germans, 3,123,568 (23.3 per cent.); Magyars, 745,431 (5.5 per cent.); Russians, i. e., Great Russians and Ukrainians, 461,849 (3.4 per cent.); Jews, 180,855 (1.3 per cent.); Poles, 75,853 (0.5 per cent.); miscellaneous, 25,871 (0.2 per cent.). Bohemia and Moravia, the census showed, are inhabited almost exclusively by Czechoslovaks and Germans, the former predominating, especially in Moravia. In Silesia the Czechoslovaks constitute almost one-half of the population, the Germans

two-fifths, and the Poles one-ninth. In Slovakia more than two-thirds of the inhabitants are Czechoslovaks and one-fifth are Magyars. In Ruthenia the Russians make up almost two-thirds of the population and the Magyars one-sixth.

The republic, though steadily growing in economic strength and in diplomatic prestige, is revealed in newspaper reports and controversial pamphlets as facing numerous problems due to the racial complexity of the population. In addition to the dissatisfaction which is manifest among the Ruthenian, German and Magyar populations, there is tension also in Slovakia, where it is charged that the Czechs oppose the concession of real equality to their Slovak kinsmen. Feeling became so acute recently that the Slovak Opposition, meeting in convention at Rosenberg, called for a boycott on everything, material and cultural, of Czech origin until the Slovak demand for semi-autonomy should be granted. The controversy ran, in part, on religious lines. The

Slovak Catholic Federation in America, which has some 3,000 members and is affiliated with the National Catholic Welfare Council of America, recently addressed an open letter to President Masaryk voicing complaints against him and against the policy of the Prague Government generally in Slovak affairs. This attack has been answered in another open letter, also addressed to the President, signed by many leading Slovaks in America refuting the charge that the Slovaks are "endangered in their national existence," and expressing full endorsement of and confidence in the present Administration and its policy.

The Government has submitted to the Chamber of Deputies a bill providing that, for a three-year period, the national army shall be reduced from 150,000 to 90,000 men. This would mean about .065 per cent. of the total population, as compared with an armed proportion in Yugoslavia amounting to about 1 per cent. and in Rumania to about 1.25 per cent. The proposal was received with general satisfaction. It was announced, during June, that M. Bohumil Vlasak, Minister of Finance, was to be designated Minister Plenipotentiary for carrying on all financial negotiations with foreign countries. From 1897 to 1918 M. Vlasak was connected with the Finance Ministry at Vienna, and after the liberation of Czechoslovakia he helped establish the corresponding department at Prague.

Foreign Minister Benes has regretfully announced that the visit which he intended to pay to the United States this Summer must be postponed till next year; Dr. Benes had been expected to lecture at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown; the change of plan is attributed to the many important international conferences being held throughout Europe this Summer. Dr. Benes on July 8 announced that the Little Entente, at its next meeting, would endorse the Dawes plan, "complete application of the report depending upon the understanding reached by England and France."

President Masaryk on June 20 left Prague on a five-day official tour of Moravia; the President's trip was significant, since Moravia is a German centre. He was greeted with unusual manifestations of friendliness; villagers and townsfolk everywhere cheered him, and German Deputies welcomed him with speeches in which they pledged allegiance to the republic. The tour was a notable personal triumph for the President; the Government believes it has done much to eliminate racial discord in Czechoslovakia.

HUNGARY

THE past few weeks have seen substantial progress toward the rehabilitation of Hungary's finances and the redemption of the country from the stagnation and general weakness of

the post-war period. Jeremiah Smith, Commissioner General representing the League of Nations, issued on June 8 an optimistic statement concerning the country's fundamental soundness, and on July 1 the Government officially reported that during the first four months of the year the national revenues, arising from direct and indirect taxation and from the turnover tax of 3 per cent. on all purchases, showed larger results than had been contemplated by the estimates of the League for either the first or the second half of 1924. This was attributed to the introduction of the gold basis at the beginning of the year in the calculation of taxes and to simplification of the methods of tax collection.

Heartened by this showing, the Government proceeded with arrangements for the Reconstruction Loan. On June 21 it was stated in a communication to the League of Nations Bureau in Paris that only European nations would participate. But at the last minute American participation was provided for; on July 1 it was announced that an American banking group, headed by Speyer & Co., had contracted to place \$7,500,000 of the bonds; and on July 2 this amount, bearing interest at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., was offered to the public by the Speyer establishment, the Equitable Trust Company and certain other firms conjointly. The price of the dollar bonds was $87\frac{1}{2}$. As in the case of the Austrian offering, under similar circumstances, American participation had a good psychological effect; Premier Bethlen, in thanking the Americans for their aid, declared it brought his country in closer financial and economic relations with "the great Republic to which hundreds of thousands of Hungarians have emigrated." The largest part of the offering was allocated to the bankers of Great Britain, but with allotments to French, Italian, Dutch and Swiss banks or syndicates. Hungary herself subscribed 10,000,000 Swiss francs. The loan is not guaranteed, as was the Austrian, by outside Governments. The Financial Committee of the League of Nations considered that conditions in Hungary are so much better than they were in Austria that this precaution is unnecessary. The revenues assigned to the service of the loan are the customs, the tobacco monopoly, the salt monopoly and the sugar tax. All the allied nations having claims on Hungary (including those for reparations) have subordinated them to the lien of the loan. The United States thus subordinated claims for \$2,000,000. The amount of the loan is 250,000,000 Hungarian gold crowns, or about \$50,650,000.

The new National Hungarian Bank, the establishment of which is a vital part of the reconstruction scheme, was unostentatiously opened on June 24. "This means," declared Commissioner

Smith, "the end of inflation and the stabilization of Hungarian currency."

The law which was enacted to meet the conditions laid down by the League of Nations for its assistance in the country's financial recovery stipulated that, as a measure of economy, 20 per cent. of the Government employes should be dismissed between 1924 and 1926. These dismissals were begun on June 30, the employes being given six months' full pay to tide them over possible periods of enforced idleness.

Answering a question put in Parliament by Deputy Ruppert of the Kossuth Party regarding the Government's dispersal of a meeting of that party, M. Rakovsky, the Minister of the Interior, declared that the step had been taken because demonstration for a republic had been made at the meeting. The law of 1921 provided, said the Minister, that the form of government should be monarchy, and the law of 1923 declared that demonstrations in favor of a republic or attacks on the institutions of the monarchy were criminal acts.

RUMANIA

WHAT was heralded by sensation-mongers on June 2 as a march on Bucharest by General Averescu and 50,000 malcontents, with the object of forcing an end to the virtual dictatorship of the Bratiano brothers, proved, on June 3, to be nothing more serious than a peaceful convention of the People's Party, attended by some 20,000 members. A resolution was adopted urging that the King exercise his constitutional rights to put an end to the unpopular Liberal régime and instead entrust the affairs of the nation to such a Ministry as would have the confidence of the masses; the convention closed with a parade through the streets of the capital.

Fear of an early war with Russia over Bessarabia has largely subsided. Trotsky has declared that such a conflict lies outside present Russian policy, and that all the Soviet authorities sought was a plebiscite in the disputed territory. Rumania replied to this demand by citing the flat refusal of the Bolsheviks in 1921 to allow a plebiscite in Georgia; and by challenging Moscow to name a case in which any power exercising sovereignty over a region which it considered rightfully its own has ever of its free will accepted a plebiscite.

Negotiations with Austria and Bulgaria for the settlement of post-war questions are proceeding favorably, and the recent tension with Yugoslavia occasioned by mutual accusations of depredations committed in the frontier adjustments of the Banat has perceptibly diminished.

A "commercialization law" promulgated June 8 provides that foreigners may subscribe up to 40 per cent. of the total capital of State-controlled public utilities and enterprises, except railroads,

telegraphs and Government monopolies. Considerable international interest and feeling were aroused by a new mining measure which came before Parliament during June. The bill provided, in substance, that foreign companies should not be permitted, after a given period, to acquire new concessions unless a fixed proportion of their shares were held by Rumanians—in other words, unless the companies were "nationalized." Fearing that, if the bill should pass, foreign-owned companies would have to sell their shares at a loss, under penalty of not being able to extend their operations to new fields, the Governments of Great Britain, France and the United States lodged protest. Available Rumanian capital, they contended, is inadequate to absorb the shares at their real value. Replying to two American notes of protest, the Bucharest Foreign Office affirmed that no confiscation of American oil properties in Rumania or other interference with the legitimate rights of American capital was intended. Neither this assurance nor certain proposed modifications of the bill fully satisfied the American interests, and a third note of protest was prepared.

The Rumanian Government continued its campaign against alleged Communists; the treatment meted out to suspects by the authorities has evoked widespread protest from radicals, condemnatory articles appearing both in *Dimineatsa* of Bucharest and in *L'Humanité* of Paris. Many of the prisoners went on hunger strikes during June and two were released after going without food or water for twelve days. The chief basis of complaint by the prisoners is that they are held in jail for months without due process of law.

YUGOSLAVIA

THE political deadlock into which the country fell during the late Spring continues, with no definite prospect of early relief. A sitting of the Skupstchina, or Parliament, was held on May 28, but only for verification of the mandates of the forty-two members of the Croatian Peasants Party; that done, a royal decree was read, adjourning the body until Oct. 20. The "Cabinet d'affaires" formed on May 20 by M. Pashitch, leader of the Radical Party, has been carrying on the work of the Government, although clearly in a minority in the adjourned Legislature. The repeated protests of the Democratic and Popular (or Clerical) Slovene Parties, and of other Opposition elements, against the adjournment, and their demands that Parliament be reassembled, have thus far been in vain. King Alexander has been firmly of the opinion that the country is weary of political strife, and that the meeting of Parliament, to be followed by a dissolution and an electoral campaign, ought to be postponed until the farm work of the Summer and early Autumn shall have been com-

pleted. There are, however, persistent rumors that the long adjournment will not be adhered to, and that Parliament will be summoned some time in August to hear the decree of dissolution read, thus enabling the elections to be held in November.

The most sensational development during June was the visit to Moscow of M. Stephen Raditch, the exiled leader of the Croatian autonomists. The majority Croatian program calls for a federated Yugoslavia in the place of the present unitary and highly centralized State. The Russian Foreign Minister, Tchitcherin, is said to have endorsed the Croatian plan, even though he recognized that no establishment of communism is intended. M. Raditch's course has considerably embarrassed his allies of the opposition bloc; these, except for the Peasants Party and a handful of Socialists, are entirely bourgeois in their views and desire to have nothing to do with communism in any form.

Political troubles have been somewhat overborne by economic betterment. The national budget for 1923-24 has been balanced at 10,405,000,000 dinars; inflation came to an end a year ago and a series of studies recently completed by the Swiss Bank Corporation, while emphasizing that the kingdom is still in process of formation and that confidence in it remains to be built up, describes the work of economic rehabilitation already accomplished as very reassuring. The Belgrade Government has followed the revolutionary conflict in Albania with deep interest, but has proclaimed its intention not to intervene so long as other powers also keep hands off. Yugoslavia professed to regard the struggle of the parties for power as a purely internal matter and has given out a communiqué jointly with Italy to that effect.

POLAND

THE Government has decided to maintain a permanent delegation at the seat of the League of Nations. The principal officers will be a Minister Plenipotentiary and a Secretary of Legation.

Alfred J. Pearson, the new American Minister, presented his credentials to President Wojciechowski on June 27, on the same day that the Polish Minister at Washington, Dr. Wroblewski, closed a contract with the American Smelting and Refining Company for the purchase by the Government of Poland of 12,000,000 one-zloty silver coins and 6,000,000 two-zloty silver coins. The zloty is the new gold monetary unit of Poland, with a value of 19.3 cents United States gold. This is the first time that American silver producers have contracted with a foreign Government to deliver finished coins. The coins, it is interesting to note, are to be manufactured by the United States Mint at Philadelphia.

ALBANIA

THE second week of June brought full success to the Nationalist insurgent movement against Admed Gogu's Provisional Government. The repudiated Premier, with 800 followers, fled toward the Yugoslav border; other Ministers and supporters crossed the Adriatic and took refuge in Bari. A contingent of the army held out for a few days, but found resistance useless and ended by going over to the side of the victors. In all parts of the country the population evidenced much enthusiasm at the outcome.

Upon assuming power at Tirana, the Nationalist leaders promulgated a decree calling upon all citizens to give up their arms and ammunition under penalty of capital punishment; then, on June 12, the Nationalists set up a new Provisional Government, presided over by Bishop Fan S. Noli, head of the Albanian Orthodox Greek Church. Bishop Noli was a student at Harvard University in 1909-12 and in 1921 was leader of the Albanian delegation to Geneva which procured the admission of Albania into the League of Nations. He has been a firm upholder of Albanian national unity, yet has sympathized also with the local tribal aspirations of the people, so that his accession to power was regarded as not unlikely to lead to the adoption of some degree of federalism, and also, perhaps, to the renunciation of the hitherto unsuccessful effort to find a monarch, to be followed, in turn, by the proclamation of a republic.

BULGARIA

M. PETKOFF, Secretary of the political section of the Foreign Office under Premier Stambulisky and later a prominent member of the Agrarian Party, was assassinated in the streets of Sofia on the night of June 15. The crime was thought to have had a political motive, inasmuch as the victim had of late stoutly opposed the Tsankoff Government and was suspected of intriguing with the Communists. By a strange coincidence M. Petkoff's father, who was Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, was similarly assassinated also in the streets of Sofia on March 11, 1907.

On June 24 the American Minister, Mr. Wilson, exchanged ratifications with Foreign Minister Kalloff of the treaty of extradition signed between Bulgaria and the United States on March 20.

The year 1923 was an unfavorable one for Bulgaria economically, and, since the reassembling of the Sobranje, practically all measures considered have been of an economic nature. The competition of American and Russian wheat has greatly reduced the export of Bulgarian wheat, and it is recognized that on account of the minute subdivision of Bulgarian farming land and the

generally primitive methods of grain culture the disadvantage will probably continue. Pending bills include one authorizing the National Bank to grant permits for the transaction of foreign business to private banks of good standing, and another empowering the Minister of Finance to further the export of such agricultural products

as are abundant by a temporary suspension or remission of the export duty. Still other proposed measures pertain to labor insurance, sugar tariffs and differential treatment of imports of prime necessity. The question of sugar prices has provoked especially heated debates in the Chamber.

Russia and the Baltic States

By ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH
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RUSSIA

THE Fifth Congress of the Third International, which opened on June 18 in Moscow under the protection and with the help of the Russian Government, has served to a considerable extent to clear the situation in Russia itself. Thus the applause which Leon Trotsky received on his appearance at the first session in the Grand Opera House, where the Congress sat, unexpectedly turned into a true ovation, in which almost the entire audience participated and which showed the extraordinary popularity of this extraordinary man. The ovation was entirely unpremeditated. The names of the Presidium of the Congress were read by Secretary Kolarov. The first on the list was Zinoviev, President of the International, whose name was met with thirty seconds of handclapping. Similarly, the other members of the Presidium received their share of recognition and encouragement. But when Trotsky crossed the stage to take his seat among the other members of the Presidium a voice in the topmost gallery exclaimed: "There is Trotsky! Hurrah for Trotsky!" In a flash the whole upper part of the house was on its feet cheering madly. The contagion spread to the delegates in the boxes and even to the privileged spectators, 300 or 400 in number, sitting on the stage behind the Presidium's table. At the table itself several of the leaders rose and cheered with the rest. The uproar continued and even the strains of the "International" were unable to subdue it. Not till after ten minutes of wild cheering was the Secretary able to resume his speech. When, however, he invited the Congress to salute the Red Army, Fleet and Air Service, some one shouted again, "Why not Trotsky also?" and the whole house was again swept off its feet in a fury of enthusiastic cheering. Some eyewitnesses thought that if he had desired Trotsky could in a moment have become the Dictator of Russia. To Trotsky's

credit let it be said that outwardly, at any rate, he did not show any desire to use the occasion to his own personal advantage or aggrandizement and remained loyal to his party. Though he has been more than once in minority opposition to the majority of that party, Trotsky knows well the value of party discipline and is not the type of man to throw all prudence to the winds.

The program of the Congress was prepared beforehand in a plenary session of the Central Executive Committee and is in itself so illuminating and suggestive that it deserves careful attention. As reported by Walter Duranty, the program was as follows:

1. Lenin and the Communist International.
2. Activities of the Executive Committee and tactics.
3. World economic position.
4. Future policy.
5. Tactics relating to the labor federation movement.
6. National questions.
7. Questions of organization.
8. Propaganda.
9. Fascism.
10. The Intelligensia.
11. Economic position of Russia.
12. The peasants.
13. The Young Communist movement.
14. Communist aid organization.
15. Questions of different sections.
16. Questions of cooperatives.
17. Election of the Executive Committee and President.

This program reveals plainly two facts: First, that the International, less enthusiastic over the prospect of an immediate world revolution, will nevertheless continue its work in that direction; and second, that apparently purely Russian problems are coming more and more to the forefront. In a way, the latter circumstance is a direct result of the fact pointed out by Zinoviev in his opening speech, that, with the sole exception of Russia, communism is everywhere losing ground. If Zinoviev's figures are correct, the number of Communists has dropped in the United States of America from 20,000 to 5,000, in England from 10,000 to 3,000, in France from 130,000 to 100,000 and in Germany from 300,000 to 250,000. In Rus-

sia, on the other hand, the number has increased from 430,000 to 600,000. This result, accomplished by the latest drive for membership among workmen and peasants, is but a poor showing in proportion to Russia's total population. All the Communists of the vast Russian Empire now forming the Union of Federated Soviet Republics, if taken together and placed in Moscow, the capital, with its population of 1,511,045, as determined by the latest official census, would represent only a minority!

Discounting the Russian character, developed by centuries of autocratic rule and often showing an inclination to practice the principle of non-resistance to evil, the strength shown by such a minority is yet worth careful study. One after another foreign Governments have bowed to this display of strength and have recognized the Soviet Government. England did it a short time ago; France is now considering recognition. Yet MacDonald and Herriot, both in favor of the Dawes report and both supported by Socialists and Laborites in their respective countries, should ponder over the words of Zinoviev in his opening address before the Fifth Congress of the Third International: "The aim of the Third International should be to expose the fraud of the Second International, which, by its acceptance of the report of the Dawes committee, is trying to fasten the noose around the neck of the proletariat with the intention of strangling it."

The delegates to the Third International assembled on June 18 at the mausoleum of Lenin and held an official session in the presence of a crowd of 15,000 persons, who filled every corner of the Red Square. President Kalinin extolled Lenin and reviewed his life's activities. Afterward the delegates descended into the tomb and viewed the body of Lenin, re-embalmed and re-interred in a red coffin with a heavy glass cover.

Premier Rykov, Lenin's successor, appeared before the International Communist Congress on July 3 and delivered a detailed and important speech, in which he reviewed the whole economic situation. He gave an optimistic survey of the conditions of the past three years, declaring that steady progress had been achieved; in industry, now 45 per cent. of the pre-war production, as against 15 per cent. in 1920; in finance, showing a foreign trade balance in Russia's favor to the extent of 100,000,000 rubles; in agriculture, the sown area showing steady increase up to 1924, when it reached a total between 85 and 90 per cent. of the pre-war figure. Unemployment, he admitted, was still a serious problem, though he asserted the number of industrial workers had increased considerably. In November, 1922, there were 150,000 persons at work in fuel production. Now there were 200,000. In the metallurgical industry the figure had risen from 246,000 to 281,000, and in the textile industry from 312,000

to 374,000. Wages had risen in the last two years from 40 per cent. pre-war to between 65 and 70 per cent.

Russian statistics themselves contradict this optimistic view. The growth of unemployment has been steady. Walter Duranty, on July 5, placed the number of jobless workers in Russia at 1,750,000, an increase of 350,000 since April 1, according to official figures. The causes, too diverse and too complicated to permit a simple analysis, must be sought not only in communism, but in the general consequences of the World War, revolution and civil war as well. Recent reports from many provincial centres show that hundreds of private traders and wholesale and retail business houses are suspending operations because of the return of the Government to the old economic policy of supporting only State and cooperative enterprises. At Vitebsk some forty firms have closed; twenty-five traders have ceased business at Vladimir; 15 per cent. of the independent commercial firms are liquidating at Yaroslavl, while at Irkutsk, in Siberia, private trading has ceased altogether. Similar reports have been received from Tiflis and other Caucasian cities.

Other reports indicate an impending failure of crops in various districts. Two consecutive sittings of the Council of Commissars were given over to the study of the situation. It was admitted that over 5,000,000 people might become affected with famine, but the Council felt certain that the famine would not reach the proportions of that of 1921, and made a public announcement to this effect. It further appointed a special commission to regulate the prices of flour and to provide relief.

The Council of People's Commissars has established a special Governmental commission attached to the Foreign Office to examine and audit the claims of Russian citizens who suffered individually through property damage or otherwise by reason of foreign intervention between 1918 and 1921. The bills for damages will be presented to the foreign Governments.

Charges of espionage were preferred in various cities against civilians and former officers in the Imperial and Red Armies, and a number of death sentences were pronounced. Leon Trotsky, Minister of War, issued a statement on July 4 denying reports that the Russian Red Army totals 1,300,000 men; he said the army had been reduced to a little over 500,000.

According to a telegram of The Associated Press from Moscow on June 6, the Council of Trade Unions had failed in its efforts to adopt Monday, instead of Sunday, as the day of rest. A special commission of the Council of Commissars is at work on a new calendar, according to which each month would consist of six weeks and each week of five days, of which only four would be working days. The day would consist

of twenty-five hours and the hours of fifty-seven minutes. The plan has obviously in view the interests of the proletariat and is not dictated by new astronomical or mathematical principles.

Under a decree of the Georgian Commissar of Labor, former religious holidays will be dedicated to commemorating the birth of Lenin, the Sovietization of Georgia, May Day and Third International Day. The first anniversary of the Russian Federal Union was observed in Moscow on July 6, the day being made the occasion of a great fête and celebration, at which 500,000 persons were present. Addresses were made by Mr. Zinoviev, Premier Rykov and other notables.

Julius Hecker, an American Methodist worker in Russia, has received permission from the Soviet Government to print and distribute Bibles, to conduct a school for training rural clergymen and to issue a weekly religious magazine. The permission was partly due to the recent decision of the Soviet Government to discontinue all anti-religious propaganda among the peasants.

M. Kobetsky has been appointed Soviet Envoy to Esthonia in place of M. Stark, who has been transferred to Afghanistan.

THE BALTIC STATES

A JOINT delegation of members of the Parliaments of the three Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, arrived during the month in London to convey greetings from the Baltic Parliaments to the British Parliament. The mission is in the nature of a return visit, a British Parliamentary delegation having visited the Baltic States last Summer.

Mr. Pusta, Esthonian Minister in Paris, has been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in M. Akel's Cabinet. M. Strandman, on taking over the portfolio of Finance, in a speech delivered in the Esthonian Parliament on May 30, stated that the economic situation of Esthonia was very serious. Esthonia possesses a backing for only 30 per cent. of her paper issues. In the last two years her gold reserves have sunk from 3,700

millions to 1,000 million Esthonian marks. The crisis is in no small measure a consequence of the fact that Esthonia can hardly attain economic development without close trade relationship with Russia.

The State budget for the year 1924-1925 was passed through Parliament on June 13. The budget has been balanced to a total amount of 193,796,975 lats.

M. J. Jurashevski, on May 26, replaced Acting Minister A. Dzenis as Latvian Minister of the Interior.

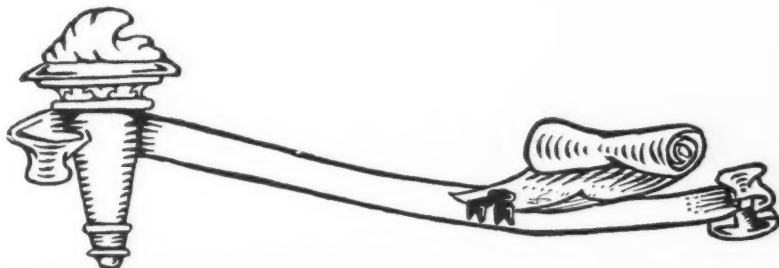
The following changes in the Diplomatic Service were made in June: Dr. M. Valters, Latvian Envoy to Italy, was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France; Dr. Grosvalds, Minister in Paris, was transferred to Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. A. Balodis, Chief of Division of Baltic States in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Lithuania.

Parleys between Latvia and Soviet Russia regarding Latvia's right under the peace treaty to exploit Russian forests were progressing early in June. Latvia was exercised over the difficulties encountered by her nationals in China, in obtaining permits from the Soviet authorities to cross Russia, the formalities requiring a loss of from three to four months.

Special visa facilities to enable Americans to visit the Latvian agricultural and industrial fair to be held at Riga from July 29 to Aug. 3 are being granted by the Latvian Consulate in New York.

Mr. Galvanauskas, the Lithuanian Prime Minister, has tendered his and his Cabinet's resignation to the President. This step became necessary because Parliament refused to endorse the Government's railway construction program.

The friction between Lithuania and Poland is still very great. In June the Lithuanian Government transmitted to the League of Nations a note calling attention to the strengthening of the Polish police forces in the Vilna region and to the concentration of troops near the Lithuanian-Polish line.



Other Nations of Europe

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY
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SPAIN

THE situation in Morocco has again become critical for the Spanish forces. On July 1 an uprising among the Kabyles was reported. An official Spanish communiqué stated that a lively battle had been fought with the rebellious Kabyles, Riffs and Gomarís, in which the Spanish sustained some twenty casualties, distributed between the positions at Mesala, Magan and Targa. The Riffs are said to be plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, both contraband, and the material they obtained when they destroyed the Spanish Army in July, 1921. It has been charged by observers in Morocco that the subjects of every great power have been engaged in contraband trade in arms, that Spain, Gibraltar, the French Protectorate, the Tangier zone and formerly Germany have supplied both sides with guns and ammunition. To this fact is attributed the fierceness of the battles that have raged and still are raging between the opposing forces.

An official statement issued July 6 reported "a cruel and sanguinary battle" in which the Spanish losses were heavy. According to news reaching Paris from Spain on July 8 the situation was becoming worse rather than better. The Spanish troops had been unable to overcome the Moors' resistance in the Valley of the Lau and new rebel forces were joining the opposition. The present campaign was considered the most critical for some time past. Reinforcements were dispatched from Spain. The seriousness of the situation was admitted, and the Spanish Cabinet discussed it for three hours on July 5. Later, General Primo de Rivera, head of the Cabinet, conferred by telegraph with General Aizpuru, Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco. This new outbreak in the western Spanish zone was regretted keenly, in view of the fact that it occurred on the eve of General Estrella's arrival in Morocco for the purpose of introducing in the Protectorate a new policy to consist mainly of restricted occupation and the withdrawal of outlying military posts.

The Spanish authorities at Tetuan were taking drastic steps to prevent a general outbreak among the tribes near that city. Twenty Spanish airplanes on June 2 made more than fifty flights and dropped some 600 bombs on the native villages immediately south of Tetuan.

The Supreme War Tribunal on June 26 con-

victed General Damaso Berenguer of responsibility for the Spanish military disaster in Morocco in 1921, above referred to, and sentenced him to be removed from the active list of the army. General Navarre, former commander at Melilla, was acquitted of a similar charge.

A demilitarization of the military directorate, the governing body of Spain, and a modification of the dictatorial powers of General Primo de Rivera, President of the directorate, took place by a royal decree issued on July 4. New portfolios were assigned the members of the directorate, each being responsible to the Crown. They took the oath before King Alfonso. Under the decree General de Rivera became Minister of Cults and Justice, but remained head of the Cabinet.

King Alfonso on this same date signed a decree for general amnesty to include sentences imposed in connection with the Spanish disaster in Morocco in July, 1921, and political offenses and persons imprisoned for newspaper libel. General de Rivera drafted the decree and urged the King to sign it.

Under this decree Professor Miguel Unamuno, Spain's foremost intellectual and former rector of Salamanca University, who was exiled to the Canary Islands for his connection with political disorders, will be free to return to Spain whenever he pleases. The same applies to Rodrigo Soriano, prominent Socialist and editor of *España Nueva*, convicted and exiled with Unamuno on the same charge. The exile of Unamuno called forth protests from prominent intellectuals all over the civilized world.

"A Catalanian," in a letter published on June 14 in *The New York Times*, denounced Primo de Rivera's "medieval methods of government" and asserted that 160 professors of the Institute of Catalan Studies had been summarily ejected from their positions because they had protested against the arbitrary dismissal from the laboratory of experimental psychology of its director, Professor Dwelshauvers of the Sorbonne. The laboratory was closed "by orders emanating directly from Primo de Rivera," in whose opinion there was no "necessity for such a laboratory" in Spain. Several other departments of the institute were also closed, and as a result "4,000 students have been deprived of their classes."

King Alfonso's visit to Italy has now been returned by King Victor Emmanuel, Queen Helena and Crown Prince Humbert, who reached Madrid on June 7 and were enthusiastically

cheered by great throngs in the gayly decorated streets. There was a salvo of guns, and a brilliant reception was held in the palace, after which the two Kings watched from the principal balcony a parade of 20,000 troops.

The Spanish Treasury has announced the Government's budget deficit at 669,000,000 pesetas, as compared with 920,000,000 the preceding year.

L'Europe Nouvelle for June 7 contains an extremely interesting letter written by Marcial Retuerto from Madrid on "Le football et les Espagnols." Spain, he points out, is a country whose people cling passionately to their past and take no interest in foreign ideas unless they stir within them the quality of enthusiasm. This enthusiasm, he says, has been aroused among Spaniards by football, a foreign importation, and has developed almost into a frenzy. Twenty years ago this sport was ignored in Spain. Now there is no fair-sized Spanish town that has not at least one football ground. But the game has been assimilated to the character of the Spanish people; with them it is no mere sport, but "a veritable battle, sometimes tragic, between twenty-two paladins who attack each other, mad with rage, encouraged by a frantic crowd, the same crowd that attends the bull fights and seeks eagerly the smell of blood." These men, says Retuerto, "would willingly give the last drop of their blood to save the national honor" by a football victory at the Paris Olympic Games.

PORTUGAL

THE Cabinet of Alvaro Castro resigned on June 26 and a new Cabinet was formed by Rodriguez Gaspard. The new Government was constituted as follows:

RODRIGUEZ GASPARD—Premier and Minister of Home Affairs.
CATANHO MENEZES—Justice.
DANIEL RODRIGUEZ—Finance.
GENERAL VIEIRA DA ROCHA—War.
CAPTAIN PERECIA SILVA—Navy.
VICTORINO GODINKO—Foreign Affairs.
COLONEL PIRES MONTEIRO—Commerce.
BULHAO PATO—Colonies.
ABRANCHES FERRAO—Education.
XAVIER DA SILVA—Labor.
VISCOUNT PEDRALVA—Agriculture.

Because Major Duarte, Portuguese Aviation Chief, was dismissed and Colonel Sarmiento put in his place, twenty-nine aviation officers mutinied and entrenched themselves. On June 7, however, the General of their division, accompanied by 45 unarmed officers, entered the aerodrome and induced the mutineers to surrender. Parliament, by a majority of one, subsequently granted them amnesty.

SWITZERLAND

ON May 19 Hugh S. Gibson presented to President Chuard his credentials as United States Minister to Switzerland. In response to an invi-

tation to assist in reorganizing the Colombian Army, Switzerland has sent a military mission of three officers to Colombia. The first Swiss Rotary Club has been opened at Zurich.

HOLLAND

PEACEFUL penetration of foreign countries, says The European Commercial of Vienna, is being even more effectively carried out by the Germans than before they lost their colonies. Holland, particularly, is the scene of this sort of German activity; German banks have extended their operations to that country, German business firms have transferred their seats to Amsterdam and Rotterdam and new German enterprises have been founded in Holland. German firms, moreover, usually work ten or twelve hours a day, thus disregarding the eight-hour working day, and causing discontent in Dutch business circles.

A British syndicate with large capital has been granted in principle the exclusive right to bore for oil in Dutch Guiana on payment of a stipulated royalty on production to the Dutch Government. Private owners or leaseholders in cases where oil is struck will get a portion of the royalty.

During the last ten years the cost of primary education in Holland has trebled. The Dutch Second Chamber has now adopted a bill cutting off a fourth of the expense by appropriating money for only one teacher to forty-eight pupils and by abolishing the compulsory seventh year of instruction.

A new type of airplane, to be fitted with three 240-horsepower engines and able to fly with any two of them in operation, has been ordered from a Dutch firm by the Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij. It will carry ten passengers.

According to Het Volk, the organ of the Dutch Social Democratic Labor Party, M. Troelstra will resign his leadership of the party in September and will not be a candidate for re-election to Parliament.

DENMARK

THERE is less unemployment in Denmark than a year ago, and the general labor situation has decidedly improved, several disputes between employers and laborers having been peacefully settled by the conciliators. The foreign trade balance also shows improvement. Prices were satisfactory. In this connection it may be noted that Professor Cole of the Agricultural Department, Washington; Mr. Edward Wentworth and Mr. Armour of Chicago, have gone to Copenhagen as representatives of the United States Government to study Danish cattle and pig breeding methods.

Forty years ago most Danish butter was of too

poor quality for export. The cooperative dairies, however, which treat the milk from multitudes of small farms by the best methods, have worked wonders. At present there are nearly 1,400 of these cooperative dairies, which handle the milk from 83 per cent. of all the cows in Denmark.

A party of twenty British journalists arrived in Copenhagen on June 21, and were entertained officially. They left for Jutland and Slesvig on July 2. Four American destroyers forming part of the Baltic squadron were visiting Copenhagen on July 8.

NORWAY

A NUMBER of Norwegian Communists, including the leaders Martin Trammæl and Oscar Torp, have been sentenced to imprisonment for terms ranging from two and a half to five months for advising men to refuse to serve in the army and for urging strikers to attack men willing to work. Daily riots took place in Christiania late in May and early in June, and were openly defended by Communist members of the Storting. The Minister of Justice declared that the Government would not tolerate revolutionary attempts.

Norway is planning to attract thousands of American tourists to her fifth Industries Fair at Christiania Aug. 31 to Sept. 7, and hopes for many buyers of her products.

Twenty persons were drowned on June 16 when the Norwegian steamer Haakon Jarl collided with the King Harald between the mainland and the Lofoten Islands and sank.

SWEDEN

A TREATY of arbitration, similar to that between the United States and Sweden which expired Aug. 18, 1918, was signed on June 24 by Secretary Hughes and Captain Wallenberg, the Swedish Minister.

From Aug. 4 to Aug. 10 the Swedish Industries Fair at Gothenburg (on the southwest coast of Sweden) will exhibit to visitors the products of Swedish skill in many lines. Efforts will be made to relax passport regulations, as at the Norwegian Fair a little later, in favor of foreign visitors.

A considerable increase in the cost of living, higher price standards, increased values of farm lands, protection for industries exposed to foreign industries but a handicapping of large export industries, are some of the outstanding results of Sweden's present tariff schedules as featured in the report of the Government Customs and Treaties Committee. This report, recently submitted after five years of work, is declared to be one of the most important prepared in Sweden for many years. The main implication of the report is that a protective tariff is not advantageous to the country as a whole, though

a minority report takes the opposite view. The committee finds that the tariff has been one of the contributing factors in the country's rapid industrialization since about 1880, that the grain and sugar beet growers in Southern and Central Sweden have been helped, but that the cattle raisers in North Sweden have been hindered. The increase in the cost of living was computed at 7.8 per cent. of the expense budget for urban families, more than half of this increase being for cost of food. Wheat, barley and rye farmers, who control an acreage equal to about 67 per cent. of the arable land of the country, had benefited by the protective duties.

During May there took place a remarkable increase in Swedish exports, including the largest monthly export in the history of Sweden's iron ore industry, the Graengesberg Mining Company alone shipping 825,385 tons, about three and a half times as much as in May, 1923. The export of lumber was also very large—larger up to the middle of June than the sales of last year for the same period. Though the trade balance was still unfavorable, the import surplus was only \$6,000,000, as against three times that amount in April.

Daily airplane service between Stockholm and Helsingfors, Finland, was inaugurated in the middle of June. At Helsingfors connection is made with the Russian aerial routes, and it will now be possible to fly via various Russian cities to Teheran, Persia. Despite this new link, there remain many obstacles to trade between the two countries. Sweden's trade with Russia during the first five months after the ratification of the treaty amounted to only \$500,000, a disappointment to the exporters. Long credits are demanded by the Russians, but only six months are allowed. Procedure is slow because all negotiations have to be made with the Russian trade delegation in Stockholm, which must obtain competitive bids, not only from Swedish firms, but also from abroad. The delegation also must inspect and approve all goods shipped to Russia. Swedish goods most in demand include paper, pulp, cream separators, steel manufactures and agricultural machinery.

The number of Swedish trading concerns established and doing business in foreign countries, according to the Swedish General Export Association, is now 775, as against 625 in 1921. There are 108 such firms in the United States, as against 78 three years ago. The L. M. Ericsson Telephone Company has just received a contract to install automatic telephone service in San Sebastian, Spain, winning against bids from American and other foreign concerns. The Swedish company, which now has affiliated companies in eight different countries, had previously received the concession for the City of Valencia, Spain. The Swedish concern Nydquist & Holm, which recently completed a delivery of 500 loco-

motives to the Soviet, has now begun deliveries of locomotives to Argentina under a contract recently obtained there.

The plan to socialize the Swedish State Railroads, outlined in the middle of May in a voluminous report of the Railroad Socialization Committee, still continues to arouse wide discussion. The plan involves complete separation of the economic administration of the railroads from political activity. The ownership is still to be vested in the Government, which will supply working capital and have the right of inspection, but the actual business will be run on the system of a private enterprise. The administration is to be in the hands of an Assembly of twenty-nine members and a board of seven directors. Six members of the Assembly will be elected by the employees, who, incidentally will have the right to strike. Wage schedules will be agreed upon with the employees. Only traffic which proves financially profitable will be maintained. Profits will be limited to the covering of costs, and taxes will be paid to the Government. The committee recommending this plan was appointed four years ago by Hjalmar Branting, then Premier, and included representatives from various parties. The plan is approved even by conservative papers; the speed with which it is adopted, however, will depend upon whether the Social Democrats win or lose in the September elections.

A new Swedish citizenship law was among the last measures passed by the last Riksdag. Under this law, which takes the place of one passed in 1894, naturalization in Sweden requires five years' residence instead of three. Under the old law, Swedes residing abroad ten years automatically lost their citizenship, but now they will retain it during any length of foreign residence, unless

they become naturalized citizens of some other country. Under the new law, marriage to a foreigner does not rob a Swedish woman of her citizenship.

Owing to the failure of the two Houses of Parliament to agree as to the national defense proposals, the Swedish Cabinet has recommended a general election in the autumn.

Great enthusiasm and harmony were shown at the Social Democratic Party Congress, held during June, at which Hjalmar Branting made the key-note address. The party favored the League of Nations, the reduction of military forces and the term of compulsory service, and the general opposition to "private uncontrolled capital," though, as Branting put it, progress should be made by "evolution instead of revolution."

The return of General Westdahl from Persia recalls the admirable work done by Swedish officers, when the great powers in 1911 assigned to Sweden the task of organizing Persian troops to suppress the bandits and outlaws, estimated at some 10,000, that infested the country. In addition to this, the Swedes also established efficient sanitation, constructed barracks and training schools, charted the principal roads of Persia and set up a system of field telephones. The last of these officers has now returned.

King Gustaf of Sweden on June 24-25 informally entertained Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, the Prince Consort and their daughter, on their way to Swedish Lapland.

An American expedition has arrived in Sweden for the purpose of studying the Lapps. The leaders are Dr. G. Clyde Fisher of the Museum of Natural History, New York, and Mr. Carveth Wells.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER
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THE ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne between the United States and Turkey was brought into the American Presidential campaign by a paragraph in the Democratic platform. Whereas the Republicans and the supporters of La Follette did not find it expedient to mention this treaty specifically, the Democratic Platform Committee declared strongly against the ratification of the treaty. It is unfortunate to have specific matters of foreign policy brought into Presidential campaigns. This is particularly true when the leaders who draw up resolutions, not to speak of the rank and file of

the convention delegates or the multitude of voters throughout the country, are insufficiently acquainted with the realities of the situation. It may be good campaign material, but it scarcely conforms with the facts to imply that the American representation at Lausanne and the State Department at home were influenced primarily by oil interests. As regards the Chester concessions, these involved oil rights only secondarily, and as regards either their mineral possibilities or their primary rights to build railways, the entire project is too nearly dead to deserve mention. As for the Armenian problem, the treaty

presents perhaps the best solution possible at this time. It is beyond the realm of possibility that the people of the United States would back any attempt to extend Armenia to the "Wilson line." Such an attempt would demand the transportation of an army of 300,000 men to Asia Minor to crush the power of Nationalist Turkey. The complications with Soviet Russia, whose unrecognized Government is the sole protector of the existing Armenian Republic, must also be taken into account. As an alternative to all this, it might be better to ratify the treaty, whose terms, however unsatisfactory they may be, will probably not be improved by future negotiation or action. After establishing normal relations with Turkey something may be done for the Armenians.

The Anglo-Turkish conference appointed to settle the boundary between Turkey and Iraq in the neighborhood of Mosul arrived at no result after sitting from May 19 until June 5. Not only did the British insist upon retaining for Iraq all territory now under the jurisdiction of that Government, but they asked, in order to bring the Assyrian Christians into Iraq, for three additional kazas, or districts, in the Province of Hakkari. Inasmuch as the Turkish representatives desired the transfer to Turkey of a large part of Kurdistan, the "Conference of the Golden Horn" speedily came to a standstill. The question was not, however, brought before the recent meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. Prime Minister MacDonald stated late in June that the British Government was continuing conversations with Turkey in the hope of reaching at least an agreement on the method of further procedure. A step toward the restoration of normal relations between Turkey and other countries was taken on June 21 by the opening of the German Embassy at Constantinople.

It was reported that the Turkish Government had closed down all offices in Turkey of the Eastern Telegraph Company. During the Greek occupation of the Smyrna region this company set aside certain revenues on telegrams until it should be decided whether the revenues belong to the sovereign Turkish Government or the occupying Greek Government. The company desired to make payment, but requested that Turkey and Greece come to an agreement before the money was paid over. Unable to conclude such an agreement in the face of its own and the Greek claims for all the money, the Turkish Government is putting pressure upon the Eastern Telegraph Company in order to compel payment.

A committee under the direction of the Armenian Bishop of Smyrna estimates the financial losses of the Armenian community there as amounting to \$118,000,000. Among the 8,000 Armenian families of Smyrna were a number of millionaires, with investments in land and in business enterprises which handled much of the im-

port and export trade of Western Anatolia. The committee estimated that 4,000 Armenians were killed in Smyrna in 1922, and that 8,000 men and 15,000 women are missing.

Late in June a committee on crown jewels and palaces reported its findings to the Ministry of Finance. It recommended that sacred and historical relics, antiquities, pictures, carpets and most of the furniture be retained as the property of the State, and that jewels, "precious objects," and gold and silver vessels be sold. The committee further suggested that the Palace of Dolma Baghtche might be converted into a hotel and that of Beylerbey into a school for girls, while two kiosks beside the Bosphorus might well be sold.

The slender finances of Abdul Medjid, the former Caliph, who is now living in Territet, Switzerland, have been materially improved by a grant from the Nizam of Hyderabad of a life pension of £300 a month.

EGYPT

THE relations of the Egyptian Government with England regarding the Sudan continue to be the most active question in Egyptian politics. A secret meeting of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate was arranged on June 2 in order to hear an address from Zaghlul Pasha, the Prime Minister, on the general subject of his success in removing obstacles and safeguarding the rights of the nation. Zaghlul Pasha succeeded in obtaining a vote of confidence with only one dissenting voice, and on the strength of this he made active preparations for a visit to England. Late in June, however, Lord Parmoor stated emphatically in a speech in the House of Lords that the British Government would under no circumstances abandon the Sudan. Confirming this statement, the Prime Minister declared in the Commons that, "in view of all that has happened, it is necessary that I should make it clear to all concerned that I do not believe that this house would accept any arrangement which would break our pledges given to the Sudan, or jeopardize the present administration and development of that country." Mr. MacDonald added that if the difficult questions still outstanding between Great Britain and independent Egypt were to be satisfactorily settled it is essential that both the British and the Egyptian Governments should "meanwhile honorably and rigidly observe the status quo." Zaghlul, after delivering an impassioned speech in the Egyptian Chamber on June 28, offered his resignation to the King. The King, however, refused to accept it and persuaded him to continue as Premier.

Feeling in Egypt with respect to the Sudan issue grew daily more acute, and, on July 12, an attempt was made in Cairo to assassinate Premier

Zaghlul; the statesman was shot and slightly wounded by a German student. The would-be slayer appeared to be unbalanced; examination revealed, however, that his hallucinations had a political tinge. Zaghlul rallied rapidly, and it was reported in London on July 13 that the mid-summer meeting tentatively planned to be held in London between Prime Minister MacDonald and the Egyptian Premier would not be canceled.

The Sudan controversy arises mainly from considerations of economic geography. The Sudan occupies the middle basin of the Nile and Egypt the lower course of that great river. The Suez Canal depends for the maintenance of its engineering work and the support of its riparian population upon a constant supply of fresh water from the Nile. Thus though the control of the upper waters of the river does not at present constitute a problem, the very existence of the populations of the Sudan, Egypt and the Suez Canal zone rest upon the management of its middle and lower courses. The agricultural developments which are under way in the Sudan demand imperatively some form of cooperation with the authorities which control the Nile as it passes through Egypt.

Though both England and Egypt have extensive and vital economic interests in the Sudan, the case of each is weak, politically, in this day of decisive trend toward nationalism. The few English inhabitants of the region can certainly not claim the right to rule, but if the Egyptians are logical, their demand for the independence of the Sudan will bring about its independence not only from England but also from Egypt itself. The Sudan, however, would suffer both economically and politically if left to complete self-determination.

Under the Mahdi the Sudan was ruled by a native despot for some twenty years. It was in a truly pitiable condition when taken over by Lord Kitchener in the late '90s. The Condominium arrangement, signed Jan. 13, 1899, made the region nominally the joint property of Egypt and Britain, but the actual control was and continues to be British. Unity is maintained by a Governor General. Under him the Sudan is divided into fifteen provinces, each of which is directed by a well-trained British Governor. The provinces consist of districts, over each of which is a British district commissioner; each of these officials is supported by several police officers, who are usually Egyptians. Beneath this system of control the former native tribal government continues. The people have been moving with a fair degree of rapidity toward prosperity and enlightenment. The capital and engineering skill which promise to transform the life of the country have been provided by the British.

The Egyptian Government does not share the Anglo-Saxon inclination toward freedom of the press. Government officials on June 9 closed

and sealed the printing office of *Al Siassah*, the leading opposition newspaper. They also arrested and confined in jail the editor and proprietor of *Al Kashkoul*, a comic journal, which has run successfully for three years. These suspensions were, however, not long maintained.

The dispute with the Hedjaz over the Holy Carpet, the covering for the Kaaba at Mecca, which is normally sent every year from Cairo at the time of the pilgrimage, has been settled. A year ago the Government of King Hussein refused to admit a group of physicians whom the Egyptian Government was sending at the same time as the Holy Carpet, with the result that the sacred object itself was thereby prevented from being delivered. King Hussein has now admitted a similar group of physicians, with the clear understanding, however, that they are merely to attend privately to the needs of pilgrims from Egypt and not to interfere with the general sanitary regulations of the Holy City.

PALESTINE

THE Arabic Executive has summoned a "Seventh Palestinian Congress." This was originally set for June 15, but was later postponed until July 20. It was reported that because of the diminution of Jewish immigration and the general calmness of the country the Arab movement was losing its strength. A Moslem newspaper of Jerusalem stated that much indignation had been caused among Moslems as well as others by the action of the Moslem Supreme Council in establishing a charge of approximately seventy-five cents, which all non-Moslems must pay, for admission to the site of the Temple of Solomon. The paper added: "We must point out that the Mosque of Omar is a holy place for all monotheistic religions and that we have never heard of a charge to enter any house of worship."

At the request of the Latin patriarch, the Government prohibited the performance in Hebrew of Halévy's opera, "La Juive." The local Jews were quite indignant, saying that this action was a relapse into medievalism and was in conflict with the spirit of the Balfour declaration.

A Palestine exhibit is to be seen at the Wembley British Empire Exhibition. The display is housed in a simple one-story building which has two domes and is stuccoed in white with horizontal bands in brown. The building bears the legend "Mandated Territory." The expense was borne half by the Palestinian Government and half by the Economic Board of Palestine. This is a Jewish organization and consequently the Arabs of Palestine criticize the exhibition as being mainly Jewish. The exhibit includes such things as pottery, glass, perfumery, needlework,

embroideries, carved olive wood, silver filigree, glass, olive oil soap, wheat and oranges. Forty years ago Jaffa exported 146,000 boxes of oranges annually; ten years ago the amount exported was 1,600,000 boxes; the pre-war quantity has been again reached.

The Zionist Organization of America met for its twenty-seventh annual convention at Pittsburgh, beginning June 29. Officers were elected, encouraging reports were presented and policies and projects were discussed.

SYRIA

THE French Bureau of Information in the United States has issued a fuller description of the French Administration in Syria than was hitherto available. General Gouraud began drafting the political organization of Syria in July, 1920, after the defeat of Emir Feisal. Because of religious differences it was thought best to divide Syria into regions. Three autonomous States were formed—Damascus, Aleppo and the territory of the Alaouites. The Lebanon was made an "independent" State, as was also the small Jebel Druse, or Druse Mountain. Furthermore, the autonomous Sanjak of Alexandria stands practically separate from the Aleppo State. Each State has a complete native Administration, headed by a Governor, who is assisted by several directors. Each has a Council of Government, "which is an elective legislative body," and a permanent commission chosen from the members of the Council. On June 28, 1922, a Syrian Federation was organized provisionally; a Federal Council was formed, composed of three delegations from the autonomous States. Lebanon is not in this federation, but deals with it through the French High Commissioner.

In carrying out the mandate, the High Commissioner, with the aid of certain delegates, accomplishes "a mission of mere assistance and advice." In 1923 some French technical advisers were taken into the Syrian service, and are not considered subordinates of the High Commissioner. On Jan. 1, 1924, the services of police, navigation, mail and telegraph were placed under native Syrian control. It is proposed soon to act similarly with all departments except the customs and concessions, patents and the quarantine.

"Syria and Lebanon were calm during the year (1923), except for local disturbances of agitators coming from outside the country itself. * * * What the people mostly want is complete security for person and property, and also better economic conditions." The native gendarmerie consists of 4,477 men. A Syrian Legion of 6,500 men is being formed. French military forces are also necessary.

Conformably with the French love of legal organization, many alterations have been made in the native courts of justice. It is intended

soon to federalize justice in the whole of Syria and to introduce in the courts a number of French magistrates.

Public schools are permitted, and are growing as rapidly as the modest budgets of the States permit. Private schools continue to receive subsidies from the French Government. The attendance at public schools was, in 1921, 17,000, and in 1922, 30,000, and in private schools was, in 1921, 72,000, and in 1922, 75,000.

Much refugee work has been necessary, especially for Armenians and Greeks. About 100,000 refugees—mostly Armenians—were present in 1919. In 1921 30,000 were brought from Cilicia. In 1922 and 1923 about 27,000 Greeks came from Turkish territory. The French authorities furnished, during the first half of 1923, nearly 3,000,000 rations to refugees, at a cost of about 80,000,000 francs.

An accurate census of the population by districts and religious affiliations has been brought near to completion. The total population amounts to about 2,400,000, which is somewhat less than has been supposed to be the case. About 500,000 are Christians, and there are about 14,000 Jews, 90,000 Druses, 200,000 Mohammedan sectaries, and 1,500,000 orthodox Mohammedans.

The native budgets for 1923 amounted to about \$25,000,000. The French have added 100,000,000 francs a year. In addition France has spent an average of something more than 400,000,000 francs per year upon the upkeep of her troops in Syria.

At a dinner in honor of General Weygand in Paris on May 21, shortly before his departure to resume the Governorship of Syria, he said, in part, that the situation under the mandate continues to gain strength. Nevertheless, the French work needs stability and the feeling of security and continuity. This demands the ratification of the treaty of Lausanne and the cessation of discussion as regards the French intention to carry on the work as undertaken.

The French authorities propose to proceed as rapidly as funds can be had toward improving the irrigation possibilities of Syria. A beginning is to be made in the valley of the Orontes. It is expected that with the regularization of the water supply that region can produce a large quantity of cotton. Thus under French auspices Syria would contribute materially to the cotton production of the world, as Egypt, the Sudan and Iraq are expected to contribute under British auspices.

King Hussein endeavored to inaugurate a plan by which the Syrian Holy Carpet should be sent from Amman instead of Damascus. French opinion held that the very old powerful Damascus tradition constituted a right of the Moslems under their mandatory control, which it was the duty of France to maintain.

At a meeting in London on June 5 in the interest of "Greater Syria," St. John Philby confirmed the fact that his recent resignation as Transjordanian adviser was "due to a conviction that Britain was acting not so much unjustly as unwisely to the Arabs. * * * If Britain were to evacuate Iraq, France would do likewise in Syria, and arrangements could be made between Arab and Jew in Palestine." Lord Raglan, however, expressed the opinion that there is no hope for the reconciliation of Arab and Jew in Palestine, and that the only feasible solution is to hand both Syria and Palestine over to a Turkish mandate.

IRAQ

THE statement in the July issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* to the effect that the Parliament of Iraq had refused to ratify the treaty with England was based on premature and erroneous information. In the closing hours of June 11, which was the last day stipulated by the British, the treaty was ratified by a vote of 38 to 25. Before the vote was taken a petition was presented to the President of the Assembly, stating that "those

who supported ratification relied on the honor of the British Government not to oppress the people of Iraq through the treaty; at the same time they stipulated that the validity of the treaty should be conditional on the protection of the rights of Iraq in their entirety, in the Mosul Vilayet." The proposal of the British Government to refer the treaty back to the Council of the League of Nations appears to have been regarded by the Iraq deputies as a threat.

The Government's statement of casualties at the time of the outbreak of the Assyrian levies at Kirkuk shows that fifty-six Moslems were killed and forty-four wounded and fourteen Christians killed. A proposal was made in the Assembly to disband the levy. The Prime Minister, Ja'afar Pasha, pointed out that this would be absurd, since the country had only 6,000 soldiers and was relying upon foreigners for protection.

Cereal crops have been damaged by weather conditions so that the exportable surplus will be less than that of last year. The cotton and date crops are promising. Whereas there was no cotton in Iraq before 1919, this year about 15,000 acres have been planted.

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

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CHINA

PREMIER SUN PAO-SHI presented the resignation of his Cabinet to President Tsao Kun on July 2. The resignation was accepted, and Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, the Foreign Minister, was instructed to act as Premier, while the other members of the Cabinet were to hold their posts temporarily. "Age and illness" were given as the reasons for Sun's resignation, but the growing opposition of influential Generals seems to have been a better explanation.

The preliminary agreement between China and Russia has occasioned some alarm in foreign and certain Chinese circles. A definitive agreement has yet to be drawn up. The protest of the United States, as well as of France and Japan, respecting the protection of their interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway, was met by a statement from Dr. Koo that China and Russia would attend to all questions regarding the control and administration of this important line. The United States is a creditor to the extent of some \$5,000,000 for equipment and services furnished

the railway during the allied intervention in 1918-20.

While a dinner was being given (June 19) in the foreign concession at Canton in honor of Governor General Merlin of French Indo-China, a Chinese threw a bomb among the guests. Seven deaths resulted. The assassin fled, firing upon his pursuers, and probably was drowned in the river. It was believed that the real purpose of the crime was to murder M. Jeanbreaud, Director of Political Affairs of Indo-China, whose attitude toward the Canton Government had won him the ill will of many of the Southerners.

The Rev. Rex Ray, one of the Americans captured by bandits in Kwangsi, succeeded in making his escape, leaving only F. H. Carnes, an Australian, in their hands. The death of the Rev. Joseph Cunningham of Salem, Va., during the fighting at Kweilin, Kwangsi, was confirmed. The U. S. S. Pampanga was reported to be trying to relieve the besieged missionaries. On June 19 an American shipping man, Edwin C. Hawley, was murdered by Chinese junkmen at Wanhhsien on the Yangtse. The junkmen resented the shipping

of wood oil on a steamer, although they were unable to carry it in their junks because of the bandit operations. Before the U. S. S. Monocacy arrived to investigate the crime, the commander of a British gunboat compelled the highest Chinese military officials of the city to attend the funeral in full uniform and to arrest and execute two leading members of the junkmen's guild, under threat that he would bombard the city. A. G. McKay, an Australian, seized by bandits in Fukien, was released early in June, without ransom. On June 24 the Rev. George D. Byers of Bandon, Ore., was murdered by bandits on the island of Hainan, which is under the nominal control of the Canton Government.

The wireless controversy involving China, Japan, Great Britain and the United States remained unsettled. The Japanese legation on June 21 protested to the Chinese Foreign Office against the signature at Washington, by the Chinese Minister, of the bonds of the Federal Wireless Company. The contract with the Federal Company was alleged to be prejudicial to the rights granted the Mitsui Company by the Chinese Minister of the Navy.

A disastrous flood of the Min River caused great property damage and some loss of life at Foochow. Three-quarters of the city was reported to be under water. This city has already suffered severely from the civil strife which has raged there intermittently in recent years.

JAPAN

THE Cabinet of Viscount Kato, which was formed on June 10, is considered one of the strongest in recent years. Kato and three other Ministers are members of the Kenseikai Party. Mr. Takahashi, formerly Premier and leader of the Seiyukai, is Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. Mr. Inukai, leader of the Kakushin Club, is Minister of Communications. Only one peer holds a portfolio, in marked contrast to the "Peers' Ministry" of Viscount Kiyoura. Baron Shidehara, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is one of the three non-party members, and his former services as Ambassador to the United States indicate that American questions will be handled by an expert.

The Imperial Diet, in which the newly elected members sat in the House of Representatives, met in extraordinary session on June 25. The chief business was to vote the supplementary budget for the fiscal year 1924-25. Changes in party affiliations since the election are indicated by the following official statement:

Kenseikai	155
Seiyukai	101
Kakushin Club	29
Supporters of Kato.....	285
Seiyuhonto	119
Chusei Club (Independents).....	39
Business Men's Party.....	8
Unattached	13

The agitation against the American immigration law continued with varying intensity. Proposals to boycott American goods were opposed by the Tokio Chamber of Commerce, although some steps were taken by small groups in the matters of American moving-picture films, electrical goods and other articles. The police promised full protection to houses showing American films. The American Associations of Tokio and Kobe joined in a cablegram to Secretary Hughes stating that so far as they were aware there had been no personal mistreatment of Americans by Japanese in connection with the passage of the immigration bill. The reply of Secretary Hughes to the Japanese note of protest, on June 16, was well received in official circles, but failed to satisfy the press. Reports that three Japanese had been tarred and feathered at Belvedere, Cal., and two killed near San Pedro and one at Pasadena aroused great indignation, until the Japanese Consul reported that the first charge had been greatly exaggerated, while the two murders and one mysterious death had certainly not been occasioned by racial ill-will.

At the first session of the Diet, on July 1, both houses passed resolutions strongly opposing the American law. Both drafts asserted that the law was discriminatory, and the lower house requested the Government to take all measures that the situation required. On the same day a Japanese cut down the flag flying in the American Embassy grounds at Tokio. This led to a special meeting of the Cabinet and evoked expressions of regret by the Foreign and Home Ministers. Baron Shidehara called upon Mr. Caffery, the American Chargé d'Affaires, and officially tendered the regrets of the Japanese Government for the incident. The arrest of the alleged perpetrators of the insult was later reported. July 1, the day on which the immigration law went into effect, was observed by meetings of protest in many parts of Japan.

In his first speech before the Diet, on July 1, Baron Shidehara said:

The guiding principle of our foreign policy is to safeguard and promote our legitimate rights and interests with due respect to those of other nations, and to maintain the peace of the Far East and the Pacific, as well as the general security of the world. We are not influenced by any aggressive tendency or territorial greed. There is no cause for apprehension that our discharge of this duty might bring into conflict the legitimate rights and interests of others. It is the principle, "live and let live," for which we stand.

In regard to the Japanese exclusion clause of the American Immigration law he said:

We can by no means consider the question closed. * * * We shall use our best possible endeavors to seek an amicable adjustment of the question and insure forever the traditional friendship between the two nations.

The departure of Ambassador Masanao Hanihara from Washington on June 11 was officially announced. The return of the Japanese envoy to

Japan is believed in diplomatic circles to be a result of the passing of the new Immigration bill.

Admiral Hyo Takarabe, Minister of the Japanese Navy, declared in the lower house of the Diet on July 7 that a decided expansion of Japan's naval air forces was contemplated. The present program calls for an increase of the eleven and a half squadrons now constituting the navy's strength to seventeen squadrons by 1928. According to Admiral Takarabe, however, naval authorities informally have agreed to an expansion to twenty-eight, and hope to introduce the program for this increase at the regular session of the Diet in December. Admiral Takarabe said that "recent developments at home and abroad" necessitated the increase.

With a view toward curtailing the importation of luxuries, encouraging thrift and balancing foreign trade, the Government introduced in the Diet on July 7 a bill providing for an ad valorem duty of 100 per cent. on 250 articles listed as luxuries. Among the articles are cameras, films, phonographs and records, precious stones, liquors, wool, woolen textiles, gold, platinum, watches, other jewelry and leather goods. The effect of the proposed heavy duty on American trade with Japan would be comparatively slight, inasmuch as Japan purchases from the United States principally staple articles, such as cotton, machinery and iron. The tariff bill would become effective as soon as passed.

Finance Minister Hamaguchi, explaining the bill, declared that it was a temporary measure, not intended as a revenue producer, but proposed as a means of protecting home industries for the primary purpose of correcting a national tendency in the increasing consumption of foreign-made luxuries. If the bill proved ineffective in this regard, he indicated, the Government probably would levy an internal luxury tax.

The Government, it is known, is troubled by the mounting adverse trade balance, which

totalled 660,000,000 yen during the first six months of 1924. This was largely due to the importation of necessities for reconstruction following the earthquake, but also, in the opinion of officials, to the prevalent luxurious habits of the people, which they believe must be corrected.

The Japanese Cabinet on July 8 approved an important bill to permit Japanese citizens residing abroad who have not taken the oath of allegiance by serving in the Japanese Army to relinquish their native citizenship. This will allow the children born of Japanese parentage in the United States to rid themselves of the handicap of what has been called "dual citizenship" and will militate against the contention that Japanese are unassimilable in the United States and in support of the stand taken by Japan in her note of protest to the Washington Government and by Baron Shidehara in his speech before the Diet, that the charge of unassimilability had not stood the test of time and was "a presumption unsupported by any evidence of facts."

The Japanese Foreign Office stated early in July that Japan was ready to sign a renewal of the four-power consortium regarding China, which expires in October. It was officially declared that Japanese resentment against the American exclusion cause had not altered Japan's policy of international cooperation.

The death of Prince Masayoshi Matsukata, whose death had been previously reported on March 1, occurred on the night of July 2. He was the last of the senior Genro (Elder Statesmen), for Prince Saionji, his colleague, represents a later appointment. His career spanned the years from feudal Japan, when he fought with sword and spear, to the day when Japan was accepted as one of the great world powers. Prime Minister, Finance Minister, long the trusted adviser of the Emperors Meiji and Yoshihito and the Prince Regent, his services to the Throne and to the State were incalculable.

International Events

By ROBERT MCELROY

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The League of Nations—Among the chief events scheduled by the League of Nations for the period since the last issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* were the following:

June 16—Fourth session of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

June 16—Sixth International Labor Conference at Geneva.

June 24—Meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva.

June 24—Meeting of the Supervisory Commission at Paris.

July 7—Tenth session of the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments at Geneva.

July 7—Meeting of the Committee for the Coordination of the Work of the Two Armaments Commission at Geneva.

July 17—Conference of Experts on the Exchange of Publications at Geneva.

Following close upon the declarations of the two national party platforms—the Republican, which declared unequivocally against entrance

into the League of Nations, and the Democratic, which referred the question to the whole body of the electorate by formal referendum—Secretary Hughes's reply to a request from the League of Nations for the views of the United States as to a draft treaty of mutual assistance designed to facilitate the application of Article X. of the Covenant is of unusual interest. The text itself, which clearly explains the points at issue, is as follows:

The Secretary of State of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication of the Secretary General of the League of Nations submitting, by direction of the Council of the League of Nations, the draft treaty of mutual assistance proposed by the Third Committee of the Fourth Assembly and requesting the expression of the views of the Government of the United States.

In reply it may be said that the Government of the United States is most desirous that appropriate agreements should be reached to limit armament and thus to reduce the heavy burdens of expenditure caused by unnecessary and competitive outlays in providing facilities and munitions of war. The desire and purpose of this Government were fully manifested when the great military and naval powers were invited by the President of the United States to meet in conference in Washington in 1921 for the purpose of considering the limitation of armaments.

While that conference resulted in the conclusion of an important naval treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan for the limitation of capital fighting ships, it was found to be impossible to obtain an agreement for the limitation of the tonnage of auxiliary naval craft or to make any progress in the direction of limitation of land forces. The Government of the United States, having reduced its own armament, continues to cherish the hope that the desired result in the case of other powers may be achieved, and it notes with keen and sympathetic interest every endeavor to that end. In this spirit the draft treaty submitted has been carefully considered.

It appears from the preamble of the treaty that it has been formulated with the desire "of establishing the general lines of a scheme of mutual assistance with a view to facilitate the application of Articles X. and XVI. of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and of a reduction or limitation of national armaments in accordance with Article VIII. of the Covenant" to the lowest point consistent with national safety and enforcement by common action of international obligations.

Mr. Hughes then quotes the text of the articles of the Covenant which outline the procedure under the League of Nations in regard to violations of disarmament agreements and for mutual assistance in case of aggression against any of the Allies, and concludes as follows:

Without attempting an analysis of the provisions of the treaty, it is quite apparent that its fundamental principle is to provide guarantees of mutual assistance and to establish the competency of the Council of the League of Nations with respect to the decisions contemplated, and, in view of the constitutional organization of this Government and of the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, this Government would find it impossible to give its adherence.

The Government of the United States has not failed to note that under Article XVII. of the draft treaty "any State may, with the consent of the Council of the League, notify its conditional or partial adherence to the provisions of this treaty, provided always that such State has reduced or is prepared to reduce its arma-

ment in conformity with the provisions of this treaty," but it would not serve a useful purpose to consider the question of a conditional or partial adherence on the part of the Government of the United States when the conditions imposed would of necessity be of such a character as to deprive adherents of any substantial effect.

Officers of the League have declared that the answer of Mr. Hughes is considered a friendly document

American Draft of Treaty of Disarmament

—There will be considered at the September meeting of the Assembly of the League a draft treaty on disarmament and security prepared recently by a group of Americans, including General Tasker H. Bliss, General James G. Harbord, F. P. Keppel, John Bates Clark, Henry S. Pritchett and John H. Finley, and presented to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on June 17 by Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, another of the originating committee.

Sir Eric Drummond laid the draft before the Council with the statement that he considered it an exceedingly useful study of the armaments problem, and recommended that it be circulated as an official document. His recommendation was unanimously approved and the draft will doubtless figure in the Assembly meeting of September.

Russian Observer at Geneva—Russia has decided to appoint an official observer to look after her interests before the League of Nations at Geneva. The Secretariat has been keeping Moscow fully informed of the proceedings, and especially concerning the degree to which the United States and Germany are collaborating with the work of the League.

Vilna Dispute—The Lithuanian Government has addressed to the Secretary General of the League of Nations a note complaining of the "incessant campaign" which, it alleges, has been conducted for some time past by the Polish Government, accusing the Lithuanian Government of preparing a military offensive in the Vilna region, and charging the Poles with committing excesses in the territory in Polish occupation, "the cruelty of which increases the exasperation of the population." The Lithuanian Government asks that these facts should be brought to the attention of the States which are members of the League.

Woodrow Wilson Memorials—A tablet erected to the memory of President Wilson on the Quay Wilson, Geneva, was unveiled July 4, 1924. Fixed on the wall supporting the terrace below the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the tablet bears this inscription: "To the memory of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, founder of the League of Nations. The Town of Geneva." Speeches were delivered by the President of the Town Council, the American Consul and Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League.

Another Wilson memorial is announced from Atlanta, Ga.—“a \$2,500,000 college, plans for which have been worked out.” A sum of \$1,000,000 actually has been subscribed, according to an Atlanta dispatch of July 9. The college is designed to be international only in the sense that “the subjects to be taught will be those in which Mr. Wilson was most interested.”

Naval Disarmament—On June 16 the Council of the League of Nations adopted a resolution declaring that the question of holding an international conference for the extension of the principles of the Washington naval treaties to non-signatory States should be resubmitted to the Assembly of the League for definition of the essential principles upon which such a conference should be based. This resolution was prompted by the difference in views that arose in the recent Rome conference of naval experts. Dr. Souza Dantas of Brazil, in discussing the naval situation, declared to the Council that Brazil had no wish to enlarge her navy, but that she needed the right to replace her old ships. He insisted that Brazil, with her great area, her long coast line and her 35,000,000 population, needed a navy suitable for the defense of her territory and people.

The resolution has an obvious bearing upon the announced intention of President Coolidge to call another international conference to carry out the principles agreed upon at the Washington conference.

League's Invitation to Einstein—It is reported from Geneva under date of June 18 that the Council of the League of Nations has extended an invitation to Professor Albert Einstein, author of the relativity theory, to become a member of the League's Commission for Intellectual Cooperation. Professor Einstein, who was formerly a member of the Intellectual Commission, resigned from it about a year ago because of disagreement with the League of Nations' policy. He has announced that he will now accept the invitation.

America's Haitian Policy—Dantes Bellegarde, former Haitian Minister to Paris, raised the question of American military occupation of his country at the conference of the League of Nations Associations at Lyons, France, on June 30. He pointed out the fact that Haiti has been in possession of our troops since 1915, and declared the occupation wholly without justification, as no Americans have been maltreated and there has been no war between Haiti and the United States.

It was M. Bellegarde's plan to secure the passage of a resolution by the International Federation protesting against the presence of the American naval forces in Haiti; but instead the federation adopted a substitute resolution offered by an American delegate, Dr. C. A. Duniway, which put the federation on record as sym-

pathizing with the Haitian people and expressing the wish that the Republic of Haiti might soon receive its rights as an independent State.

The solution, however, did not wholly satisfy M. Bellegarde, who announced his intention of carrying the question to the floor of the plenary session of the next day. When the session opened, however, Dr. Duniway launched another topic, which caused the Haitian question to wait another day.

On July 2, this other question being disposed of, Dr. Duniway and M. Bellegarde appeared, the one to defend America's actions in occupying and holding Haiti, the other to denounce them. “Both addresses were applauded,” declared The Associated Press dispatch of July 2, “but the Haitian received an ovation which lasted several minutes.” As the debaters had already reached an agreement regarding the resolution to be presented to the congress, however, the cheering was merely by-play. The resolution in question which was unanimously approved, declared that the Federation, having heard sympathetically the representations made by the delegate from the Haitian Society of the League of Nations, expressed its satisfaction that the United States Secretary of State had declared the intention of his Government to effect withdrawal from Haiti as soon as possible.

The Japanese League Association, which had a strong delegation in the Federation conference, had submitted a draft of a resolution dealing with the status of foreigners, and in a general way aiming at recognition of racial equality without discrimination. It declared that a nation belonging to the League of Nations should apply the same requirements for admission to and departure from the country, irrespective of their origin, religion or occupation. The resolutions, with certain amendments, had passed the Economic Commission and were by that commission presented unanimously to the eighth plenary Assembly on July 1.

The first resolution had been adopted when Dr. Duniway took the floor, announcing that as an American he must oppose the fifth resolution, which contained the item regarding racial equality of treatment. During the discussion which followed it developed that the phraseology to which Dr. Duniway objected was not Japanese in origin, but had been supplied by other members of the committee. The outcome of the debate was an arrangement that the American and Japanese delegates should consult together and attempt to reach an agreement mutually agreeable. Late in the evening the agreement was reached, in the shape of an additional clause declaring that the resolution did not involve the question of immigration and that no particular reference be made in the resolutions either to Japan or the United States.

These two instances show clearly that American isolation is no more and that our national actions, like those of all other nations, are to be weighed in the balance of international opinion and denounced if found wanting.

The Premiers' Conference on the Dawes Report—The coming London conference of Premiers on the Dawes report, in the invitations to which the British Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, outlined plans for a new body to consider defaults by Germany, was the centre of much European and American discussion during July. Mr. MacDonald's original proposal was interpreted as taking from the Reparation Commission its power under the treaty to decide when Germany was in default, and it therefore created great excitement. There are four members of that commission, British, French, Belgian and Italian, while France, by the deciding vote of the Chairman, has a position of great power upon it. The prospect of being asked in the London conference to give up that control aroused the French Nationalists and some members of the Left, causing a crisis for the Herriot Ministry. Informed of the danger, Mr. MacDonald hastened to Paris to do what he could to prevent the overthrow of the French Ministry. Upon his return to London, in reply to a question on June 10, Mr. MacDonald made the following statement:

An unfortunate situation having arisen in Paris which threatened to destroy the work done to arrange for the interallied conference on application of the experts' report, I went to Paris to try to remove it. * * * We * * * agreed first of all to try and add to the Reparation Commission, when it is dealing with defalcation under the experts' report, an American member who would look after the interests of investors, or, failing that, to use the services of an American who will be the reparations agent general. The view of the British Government is that this gentleman should act as arbitrator in the event of failure to get a unanimous decision from the Reparation Commission, but the French Government wished time to consider this and leave final decision on the point to the London conference. * * * The French Government further desired to associate the question of interallied debts with the experts' report. To this we could not agree.

The concessions made by Mr. MacDonald during the visit, however, were sufficient to cause the French opposition to give up their effort to defeat Premier Herriot. The Senate, July 11, by a vote of 236 to 17 (177 not voting), authorized Premier Herriot to attend the London conference on July 16.

America, while not to be fully represented at the conference, will have present her own observer, Ambassador Kellogg, "watching, helping and cooperating," to quote the description given by Prime Minister MacDonald, who added these words of prophecy: "The time must come when the great republic of the West will have to help * * * to solve European problems. America will not come into a European concert. I do not wish her to do so, and she is too wise to do

so; but there is no great nation on the face of the earth, like America, mighty in the quality of its people, powerful in its wealth, that could isolate itself from others."

Fifth Congress of the Moscow International—On June 17 the Communist International began its fifth congress in the Grand Opera House in Moscow, 500 delegates being present, representing sixty countries, including the United States, Mexico, Canada and other American States. The character of its internationalism was shown by the following comment concerning American-Japanese relations:

After the great earthquake Japan was weakened. America takes advantage of this weakness to pass the new immigration law. On the other hand, the revolutionary element in Japan is gaining ground. We have excellent reports from Korea, where the revolutionary elements are preparing for an explosion against Japanese imperialism. In China the weakness of Japan has brought a movement to rid China of Japanese domination. The Japanese Government has need of the aid of the Soviets, in view of her strained relations with America, and she has begun conversations with us.

We should use the occasion to lay down all our conditions. We are willing to help Japan fight American imperialism, but only if we are thereby enabled to make great steps in Japan for communism. It is difficult for us to sign an agreement with Japanese imperialism unless by that means we can crush American imperialism. Japan's relations with the Soviets and China will determine her ability to fight America, for Japan could not fight both sides at the same time.

France and Soviet Russia—In view of the understanding, when M. Poincaré was Premier of France, that America and France would keep together on their Russian policy, and in view of the recognition of Soviet Russia by a number of important powers, including Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Denmark and China, the French Premier Herriot indicated a desire to discover whether American recognition is in prospect. On June 21 Ambassador Jusserand conferred with Secretary Hughes upon the subject. No official account of the conference was given out, but it is believed that M. Jusserand was given to understand that the United States was by no means ready to grant recognition to Soviet Russia, a fact made clear by a statement issued from the White House on July 1. The French Government on June 25 announced its decision to grant Russia recognition. The decision does not come as a surprise, for M. Herriot's majority in the Chamber had pledged themselves during the recent elections to the recognition of the Soviet, and public opinion in France seems to approve the step taken in fulfillment of that pledge.

Little Entente Conference—The Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania—met in conference at Prague on July 11. The official announcement regarding the first day's session stated "once again complete agreement has been reached regarding numerous interests and there is complete unity among the allies."

In the course of conversations Ministers stated that many recent events had in no way changed the relations existing among the three States, "which are bound by vital interests." Developments failed to justify the optimism that marked the opening of the conference; issuing a state-

ment which claimed substantial progress, but which disclosed that the fundamental question of Bessarabia had been avoided, the conference adjourned on July 12, having been in session scarcely twenty-four hours. Observers said the accomplishments of the meeting were negligible.

America's Reply to Japan's Protest

SECRETARY OF STATE HUGHES on June 16 replied on behalf of the United States Government to the Japanese memorandum of May 31, which protested against the exclusion provisions of the new Immigration law. The Secretary, in his note, emphasized that the new legislation was intended as no slight to the Japanese Nation, for which, he added, the American people have "admiration and cordial friendship." The text of the note, which was addressed to Masanao Hanihara, the Japanese Ambassador, was as follows:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note under date of May 31 containing a memorandum stating the position of the Japanese Government with respect to the provision of Section 13 (C) of the Immigration act of 1924. I take pleasure in noting your reference to the friendliness and candor in which your communication has been made, and you may be assured of the readiness of this Government to consider in the same spirit the views you have set forth.

At the time of the signing of the Immigration bill the President issued a statement, a copy of which I had the privilege of handing to you, gladly recognizing the fact that the enactment of this provision "does not imply any change in our sentiment of admiration and cordial friendship for the Japanese people, a sentiment which has had and will continue to have abundant manifestation." Permit me to state briefly the substance of the provision. Section 13 (C) related to all aliens ineligible to citizenship. It establishes certain exceptions, and to these classes the exclusion provision does not apply, to wit:

Those who are not immigrants as defined in Section 3 of the act, that is: "(1) a Government official, his family, attendants, servants and employees; (2) an alien visiting the United States temporarily as a tourist or temporarily for business or pleasure; (3) an alien in continuous transit through the United States; (4) an alien lawfully admitted to the United States who later goes in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory; (5) a bona fide alien seaman serving as such on a vessel arriving at a port of the United States and seeking to enter temporarily the United States solely in the pursuit of his calling as a seaman, and (6) an alien entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on trade under and in pursuance of the provisions of a present existing treaty of commerce and navigation."

Those who are admissible as non-quota immigrants under the provisions of subdivision (b), (d) or (e) of Section 4, that is "(b) An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States, who is returning from a temporary visit

abroad"; "(d) An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of, carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary or university; and his wife, and his unmarried children under 18 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him"; or "(e) An immigrant who is a bona fide student at least 15 years of age and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary or university particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor, which shall have agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each immigrant student, and if any such institution of learning fails to make such reports promptly the approval shall be withdrawn." Also, the wives, or unmarried children under 18 years of age, of immigrants admissible under subdivision (d) of Section 4, above quoted.

It will thus be observed that, taking these exceptions into account, the provision in question does not differ greatly in its practical operation, or in the policy which it reflects, from the understanding embodied in the gentlemen's agreement under which the Japanese Government has cooperated with the Government of the United States in preventing the emigration of Japanese laborers to this country. We fully and gratefully appreciate the assistance which has thus been rendered by the Japanese Government in the carrying out of this long-established policy, and it is not deemed to be necessary to refer to the economic considerations which have inspired it. Indeed, the appropriateness of that policy, which has not evidenced any lack of esteem for the Japanese people, their character and achievements, has been confirmed rather than questioned by the voluntary action of your Government in aiding its execution.

The point of substantial difference between the existing arrangement and the provision of the Immigration act is that the latter has expressed, as the President has stated, "the determination of the Congress to exercise its prerogative in defining by legislation the control of immigration instead of leaving it to international arrangements." It is not understood that this prerogative is called in question, but, rather, your Government expressly recognizes that "it lies within the inherent sovereign power of each State to limit and control immigration to its own domains," an authority which it is believed the Japanese Government has not failed to exercise in its own discretion with respect to the admission of aliens and the conditions and location of their settlement within its borders. While the President would have preferred to continue the existing arrangement with the Japanese Government, and to have entered into negotiations for such modifications as might seem to be desirable, this Government does not feel that it is limited to such an international arrangement or that by virtue of the existing understanding, or of the negotia-

tions which it has conducted in the past with the Japanese Government, it has in any sense lost or impaired the full liberty of action which it would otherwise have in this matter. On the contrary, that freedom with respect to the control of immigration, which is an essential element of sovereignty and entirely compatible with the friendly sentiments which animate our international relations, this Government in the course of these negotiations always fully reserved.

Thus in the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded with Japan in 1894 it was expressly stipulated in Article II: "It is, however, understood that the stipulations contained in this and the preceding article do not in any way affect the laws, ordinances or regulations with regard to trade, the immigration of laborers, police and public security which are in force or which may hereafter be enacted in either of the two countries."

It is true that at the time of the negotiation of the treaty of 1911 the Japanese Government desired that the provision above quoted should be eliminated, and that this Government acquiesced in that proposal, in view of the fact that the Japanese Government had, in 1907-08, by means of the gentlemen's agreement, undertaken such measures of restriction as it was anticipated would prove adequate to prevent any substantial increase in the number of Japanese laborers in the United States. In connection with the treaty revision of 1911, the Japanese Government renewed this undertaking in the form of a declaration attached to the Treaty. In acquiescing in this procedure, however, this Government was careful to negative any intention to derogate from the full right to exercise in its discretion control over immigration. In view of the statements contained in your communication with respect to these negotiations, I feel that I should refer to the exchange of views then had. You will recall that, in a memorandum of Oct. 19, 1910, suggesting a basis for the treaty revisions then in contemplation, the Japanese Embassy stated:

" * * * The measures which the Imperial Government have enforced for the past two and a half years in regulation of the question of emigration of laborers to the United States have, it is believed, proved entirely satisfactory and far more effective than any prohibition of immigration would have been. Those measures of restraint were undertaken voluntarily, in order to prevent any dispute or issue between the two countries on the subject of labor immigration, and will be continued, it may be added, so long as the condition of things calls for such continuation.

"Accordingly, having in view the actual situation, the Imperial Government are convinced that the reservation in question is not only not necessary, but that it is an engagement which, if continued, is more liable to give rise to misunderstandings than to remove difficulties. In any case it is a stipulation which, not unnaturally, is distasteful to national sensibilities. In these circumstances the Imperial Government desire in the new treaty to suppress entirely the reservation above mentioned, and to leave, in word as well as in fact, the question to which it relates for friendly adjustment between the two Governments independently of any conventional stipulations on the subject. In expressing that desire they are not unmindful of the difficulties under which the United States labor in the matter of immigration and they will accordingly, if so desired, be willing to make the proposed treaty terminable at any time upon six months' notice.

"The Japanese Embassy is satisfied that in the presence of such a termination clause the contracting States would actually enjoy greater liberty of action so far as immigration is concerned than under the existing reservation on the subject, however liberally construed."

Replying to these suggestions, the Department of State declared in its memorandum sent to the

Japanese Ambassador on Jan. 23, 1911, that it was prepared to enter into negotiations for a new treaty of commerce and navigation on the following bases:

"The Department of State understands, and proceeds upon the understanding, that the proposal of the Japanese Government made in the above-mentioned memorandum is that the clause relating to immigration in the existing treaty be omitted for the reason that the limitation and control which the Imperial Japanese Government has enforced for the past two and a half years in regulation of emigration of laborers to the United States, and which the two Governments have recognized as a proper measure of adjustment under all the circumstances, are to be continued with equal effectiveness during the life of the new treaty, the two Governments when necessary cooperating to this end; the treaty to be made terminable upon six months' notice.

"It is further understood that the Japanese Government will at the time of signature of the treaty make a formal declaration to the above effect, which may in the discretion of the Government of the United States be made public.

"In accepting the proposal as a basis for the settlement of the question of immigration between the two countries, the Government of the United States does so with all necessary reserves and without prejudice to the inherent sovereign right of either country to limit and control immigration to its own domains or possessions."

On Feb. 8, 1911, in a memorandum informing the Department of State of the readiness of the Japanese Government to enter upon the negotiations which had been suggested by the Embassy and to which the Department had assented subject to the reservation above quoted, the Japanese Embassy stated that "the Imperial Government concur in the understanding of the proposal relating to the question of immigration set forth in the above-mentioned note of Jan. 23 last."

It was thus with the distinct understanding that it was without prejudice to the inherent sovereign right of either country to limit and control immigration to its own domains or possessions that the treaty of 1911 was concluded. While this Government acceded to the arrangement by which Japan undertook to enforce measures designed to obviate the necessity of a statutory enactment, the advisability of such an enactment necessarily remained within the legislative power of this Government to determine. As this power has now been exercised by the Congress in the enactment of the provisions in question, this legislative action is mandatory upon the executive branch of the Government and allows no latitude for the exercise of executive discretion as to the carrying out of the legislative will expressed in the statute.

It is provided in the Immigration act that the provision of Section 13 (c), to which you have referred, shall take effect on July 1, 1924. Inasmuch as the abstention on the part of the United States from such an exercise of its right of statutory control over immigration was the condition upon which was predicated the undertaking of the Japanese Government contained in the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-08 with respect to the regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States, I feel constrained to advise you that this Government cannot but acquiesce in the view that the Government of Japan is to be considered released, as from the date upon which Section 13 (c) of the Immigration act comes into force, from further obligation by virtue of that understanding.

In saying this, I desire once more to emphasize the appreciation on the part of this Government of the voluntary cooperation of your Government in carrying out the Gentlemen's Agreement, and to express the conviction that the recognition of the right of each Government to legislate in control of immigration should not derogate in any degree from the mutual good will and cordial friendship which have always characterized the relations of the two countries.

Armies and Navies of the World

By GRASSER SCHORNSTHEIMER

THE UNITED STATES

APPARENTLY nothing can be done in the way of further limitation of naval armaments by international agreement at present. Semi-official soundings of foreign opinion, undertaken by certain individuals close to the Government, bring out the fact that Japan, France and Italy are opposed to further limitation of their sea forces.

It is stated on the authority of one close to the French Minister of the Navy that France could not be a party to any limitation of cruiser, air or submarine forces and that the present limitation imposed upon capital ships is in disfavor in French naval circles. Various French writers hotly attack the American battleship limitation, saying that the 35,000-ton limit was demanded by the United States because, they allege, ships of this size are the largest capable of passing through the Panama Canal. But a glance at the dimensions of the canal locks effectively disposes of this contention.

The Japanese Admiralty, when approached on the subject, is reported to have declared its approval in principle of some further limitation of naval forces, but with the emphatic statement "that Japan cannot be expected to curtail her amplification program in view of the international situation."

The naval awakening of nations not signatory to the Washington Treaty is given as another reason for the impossibility of a conference at present. Spain and Russia are increasing their naval forces to a point where they will have to be considered in any future discussion of naval limitations.

Great Britain, on the other hand, is known to be greatly in favor of a proportionate reduction in cruisers and submarines. The reason for this lies in the fact that these two classes of ships are the most effective destroyers of merchant ships.

American authorities do not favor a pro rata agreement, as the United States has but 25 per cent. of her ratio in cruisers, as outlined at the Washington Conference, and practically no effective submarines. The failure of Congress to pass the bill authorizing the construction of eight cruisers in future is also held to accentuate the disfavor with which a pro rata agreement is held by American naval authorities.

The Naval Selection Board has reported its recommendations for promotion. These recommendations were notable in that exceedingly few

War College graduates were listed for promotion and that three Captains of outstanding qualifications and reputation were not listed for promotion and other officers were passed ahead of them. For these reasons Representative Fred Britten of Illinois protested against the entire selection in a letter to President Coolidge. He pointed out the evident favoritism shown in the appointments and asked that they be disapproved. After a conference with the political heads of the Navy Department the President decided to uphold the board.

While engaged in target practice off San Pedro, Cal., on the afternoon of June 12 an explosion occurred in the No. 2 turret of the U. S. S. Mississippi, killing forty-five and injuring a score. The vessel at once made for port, and when inside the port limits a second explosion occurred which fired a second gun. The shot from this gun narrowly missed the liner Yale, which was leaving the harbor. Various explanations of the disaster have been made in the absence of official information. The Army and Navy Journal gives a most plausible explanation. The vessel was firing at long-range battle practice. The guns have an elevation of only fifteen degrees, giving them a very short range. It is said that in order to permit the guns to fire at a normal battle range the ship was trimmed to one side. This canted the entire vessel several degrees and gave the guns the necessary elevation, but this movement, it is believed, caused a short circuit in the electrical firing mechanism, which allowed the gun to be fired without the breech being closed. The explanation of the firing of the second gun is that in bringing out of the turret one of the dead officers one of the hands of the corpse fell across the breech mechanism of the second loaded gun, causing a circuit that fired the charge. This fact has been authenticated by the accounts of the rescue party.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE cruiser-minelayer Adventure, which was built amid the greatest secrecy at the Devonport Dock Yard, has been launched. It is now announced that a new 10,000-ton cruiser, to be named the Cornwall, is to be built at this yard.

The flagship of the Atlantic fleet has been changed from the Queen Elizabeth to the Revenge.

Mr. Grindell-Mathews's "death ray" has apparently gone the way of all such inventions. After a series of tests the contrivance failed to justify any of the extraordinary claims made for it. The British public was greatly stirred by the

report that Mr. Mathews was to sell the contrivance to France. Pressure was brought to bear upon the War Office and tests were made.

FRANCE

THE new French program has been announced by the Minister of the Navy. It consists of two 10,000-ton cruisers, six 1,500-ton destroyers and two 500-ton submarines, to be laid down this year. The cruisers will carry eight 8-inch guns in four turrets and their design will be drawn from the vessels now building.

Two new 600-ton submarines are to be built for Greece in France by the Schneider Company. The contract price is said to be 12,000,000 francs for the two vessels.

JAPAN

THOUSANDS of people witnessed the destruction of the old cruiser Tsugaru in Tokio Bay on the Japanese "Navy Day." The vessel was first bombed for some time by aircraft and, it is understood, without any hits being made. Then the vessel was run on a mine and was finally sent to the bottom by torpedoes. The Tsugaru was captured from Russia during the Russo-Japanese War.

According to French advices the Japanese naval manoeuvres for this year are to be on a grand scale. More than 100 ships and 100 planes are to take part in the exercises, which will wind up with a naval review in Tokio Bay. The manoeuvres are scheduled to begin in October.

As a result of the grounding of the fast cruiser Kitagami, flagship of the destroyer forces of the battle cruiser fleet, in the Kantse River in April, Captain Kawano Keigo and his officers were summoned before a court-martial.

The destroyers Fubaki and Kisaragi have been damaged in a collision.

The submarine 45 nearly suffered disaster on May 16. She was cruising off Kure when the rudders failed to respond and the vessel sank 240 feet. The crew was panic-stricken. The electric motors, having broken down completely, failed to respond. After operating the hand gear for seven and a half hours the vessel finally came to the surface. It was then possible for her to reach the naval base at Kure.

The numerous reports of groundings, collisions, sinkings and failures in service of ships of the Japanese Navy are causing some alarm in the Navy Department and the press. The department is holding Captains of ships strictly responsible for their vessels. It is stated that though there are a very few cases of negligence and carelessness, the great majority of the accidents are caused by lack of knowledge and experience.

ITALY

ACCORDING to recent reports from Italy, two new 10,000-ton cruisers are to be laid down in the near future. They are to be named Amalfi and Pisa. The speed is put at from 34 to 36 knots and the battery is said to be ten 8-inch guns in four turrets, following the battery plan of the U. S. S. Nevada.

SPAIN

THE new cruiser Principe Alfonso was launched at the Ferrol Dock Yard on June 16. She is larger by several hundred tons than any cruiser in the United States Navy.

The cruiser Mendez Núñez ran her trial trips during the month of June and is reported as satisfactory in every respect, though no official figures of performance were given out.

Two new destroyers were delivered during the last few months and the Spanish Navy is beginning to assume a semblance of modernity. A system of fleet training has been prepared for the modern ships and an operating schedule is said to be in effect regarding the gunboats off the African coast. During the last year the smuggling of arms to the Moors by water has been materially diminished.

The old armored cruiser Cataluña is on a training cruise. The vessel is now in British waters and will visit various European ports before returning to her home port.

Two floating dry docks for the submarine base at Cartagena have been completed by the Matagorda Company at Cadiz.

The Naval Commission, which has been maintained for many years by Spain in New York, has been abolished. It is said that the failure of the Diesel submarine engines purchased in this country has resulted in a decision to purchase no more munitions in America.

Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS
Managing Editor, Science Service

NEW excursions into the mystery of life are continually being made in the laboratories of scientists. To be added to the wonders of cells that live and thrive in test tubes long after the death of the animal of which they once were a part, there comes the successful transplantation of a living, beating heart from one living body into another. It is true that the German biologist, Ph. Stohr, who accomplished this scientific feat, operated upon the embryo form of salamanders, which are hardier and more lowly organized than man and his usual animal associates. All such experiments, however, have possible aid to man as their goal; they serve, furthermore, to increase the mass of facts in the storehouse of science. In the case of man numerous intricate problems must be solved before any similar transplantation can even be thought of.

In numerous cases Dr. Stohr gave young salamanders a "spare" heart, as it were, by implanting a heart into a normal body already supplied with blood-pumping mechanism. In no case, however, would the two hearts beat as one. Each heart had a rhythm all its own and seemed to be extremely jealous of its function. In some cases the implanted heart grew in the new body in such a way as to pump blood in the same direction as the original heart. In other cases the two hearts found themselves in conflict, pumping against each other, and in still other cases the new heart failed to connect with the circulatory system of the body and began to develop a new system of arteries and blood vessels.

More direct in its application to the welfare of man is the scientific work on the kidney now in progress. Before the war Dr. John J. Abel, Professor of Pharmacology at the Medical School of Johns Hopkins University, invented an artificial kidney which he found to replace successfully the natural organ in dogs. Now the artificial kidney is about to be tested on human beings by German scientists. The actual application of the invention was delayed because the European war prevented the production of hirudin, an extract from Hungarian leeches, which is necessary to the operation of the artificial kidney. It is hard to distinguish the artificial kidney from a steam boiler, and, strange to say, the artificial kidney is attached to the exterior of the body rather than the interior. It is essentially a strainer, an imitation of the glomerulus, the filtering mechanism in kidneys of higher animals. On the interior of the artificial kidney are tubes

of celloidin, a substance that lets the impurities and poisons strain through but retains in the blood the vital corpuscles and proteins. The leech extract, hirudin, is used to keep the blood from clotting as it flows through the tubes.

VITAL ELEMENTS RETAINED

The apparatus is attached to an artery and the blood flows back again to another connection further along on the artery or to a vein. Any filterable constituent of the blood which must not be removed, such as blood sugar, is prevented from escaping through the walls of the celloidin tubes by the fact that they are submerged in a solution that contains the same amount of this substance as the blood.

Already the kidney has been tested on dogs, with the result that it was found to function so rapidly and efficiently that the living kidneys did not secrete and were relieved of their work so that they could rest. The hope of applying it to the relief of human sufferings lies chiefly in the field of cases where the kidneys break down in fatal cases of acute nephritis, scarlet fever, corrosive sublimate poisoning and similar toxic states. In many instances the life of the patient probably could be saved if his inflamed kidneys were given a few hours' rest each day by artificial means.

The highest point of the world, Mount Everest, still remains unconquered by those who lived to tell of the accomplishment. This year's attack upon Everest, undertaken by English explorers, had a tragic climax in the death of two of the party who were last seen about a thousand feet from the summit. The peak may have been reached by Mallory and Irvine, but if it was, they perished before being able to report the accomplishment.

Preparations are under way in America for an exploration of atmospheric heights compared with which Mount Everest becomes a mole hill. Professor R. H. Goddard of Clark University, with the cooperation of that university, the Smithsonian Institution and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, is preparing a rocket which is expected to solve some of the mysteries of the unknown upper air. This rocket, whose motive power is the continuous explosion of liquid oxygen and very volatile hydrocarbons, is expected to rise higher in the heavens than any man-made object that has ever left the earth. At present scientists are uncertain as to the composi-

tion of the atmosphere above the very thin layer of twenty miles or so that has been investigated by sounding balloons. Meteors indicate that at a height of thirty-seven miles the temperature rises abruptly from a very frigid temperature of minus 63 degrees Fahrenheit to a temperature of a Summer day, 80 degrees Fahrenheit. From a study of the aurora the indications are that the temperature falls with increasing height and also that in the higher altitudes the atmosphere consists of a higher percentage of nitrogen. At fifty-six miles above sea level the temperature reaches 351 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, so low that nitrogen freezes. It is believed that the nitrogen crystals so formed are positively charged electrically. To this lofty nitrogen "snow" radio communication owes much, if this theory is correct. Such a charged atmosphere of nitrogen dust would be a better conductor of electricity than the surface of the earth itself. And long-distance reception at night is explained as being due to the traveling of radio waves along the bottom of this layer.

NEW TROPICAL RESEARCH BODY

Although it is necessary to penetrate the upper air in order to find vast expanses totally unknown to man, many places on the surface of the earth need more detailed investigation. One of the most promising areas for scientific research is the tropics. As a recognition of the large and increasing importance of the part played in the economic life of the temperate zones by the products of tropic plants, the Tropical Plant Research Foundation initiated by the National Research Council has been incorporated. Experts under the auspices of the Foundation will conduct investigations and establish and maintain such stations and laboratories in tropical countries as may be necessary for a study of the plants and crops of the tropics.

The necessity for this study is stated by the organizers of the Foundation to be the economic dependence of the temperate zones upon the tropics, from which come many of the necessities of modern life. This dependence will increase in the future. The quantities of sugar and oils, fibre and rubber, coffee and cacao, fruits and vegetables that are imported annually are only the vanguard of the future supplies that will be drawn from the tropics. The production, preparation and shipment of these products involve problems that have as yet received little study. With the exception of the areas under the immediate jurisdiction of the United States, the tropical agriculture of the Western Hemisphere does not have the counterpart of the Governmental and institutional agencies which contribute so much to crop production within the United States.

Explorers may now be trained in their own science. The American Geographical Society of New York has established a school for explorers

in which prospective adventurers in strange lands may become proficient in surveying and the reporting of their observations.

NEW SEA SURVEY PROPOSED

Five-sevenths of the surface of our globe is covered by the waters of the seas and this portion is largely unknown. The charts used in ocean navigation are rough approximations of actual conditions in many cases, and, while fish of various sorts comprise one of the world's most important foods, we know little of the movements of the inhabitants of the seas. Within the last month plans for a survey of the ocean from top to bottom—the most complete survey ever attempted—have been inaugurated by a conference representing the various scientific branches of the Government and related organizations. It is probable that out of this discussion will come one of the most intensive oceanographic surveys ever attempted.

An American civilization that flourished before the days of Columbus has begun to yield its secrets. The Carnegie Institution of Washington has inaugurated archaeological explorations at the site of Chichen Itza, once a flourishing city of the "new" Mayan Empire about 1000 A. D. The ten-year program of research and cooperation with the Mexican Government was delayed by the recent revolution in Mexico; now, however, from Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley, heading the exploration in Yucatan, there come reports of the first fruits of the investigation. One of the first things discovered was a gigantic picture puzzle. A colonnade was once decorated by a great stone mosaic and now the pieces of stone, each weighing several hundred pounds, are scattered about in indescribable confusion. It is a jig-saw puzzle composed of several thousand pieces instead of several scores. This jigsaw puzzle is ninety feet long and eighty feet wide with pieces several feet long, instead of the usual kind, perhaps a foot or two square, with pieces not more than an inch or two long. The great pieces are blocks of stone instead of bits of wood and cardboard. Raised to the top of a front row of square columns, this vast mosaic would give a picture of what the front of the colonnade formerly looked like.

To the long list of achievements that have resulted from the technical perfection of heavier-than-air transportation the month has added a successful dawn-to-dusk airplane flight across the country by Lieutenant Russell L. Maughan of the Army Air Service and the inauguration of the first regular transcontinental air mail service on July 1. There has been recently perfected by the United States Navy a new type of airplane catapult in which a powder charge instead of compressed air is used in giving the plane its initial start. This device has proved successful in tests and it has been found to be speedier and more easily handled than the compressed air catapult.

The gun type catapult is being installed on all airplane carriers and other naval vessels mothering airplanes.

Astronomical interest centred upon the position of the planet Mars; Mars is coming closer to the planet earth than it has been during the past 200 years, and, according to authorities, would be a

mere 34,630,000 miles away at the time of its closest approach on Aug. 23. During the Summer astronomers are having a better chance to see this planet than they have had for many years, an advantage which undoubtedly will stimulate anew the discussions as to conditions and the possibility of life on Mars.

Deaths of Persons of Prominence

EMILE CLAUS, eminent Belgian painter, June 7, aged 75. M. Claus achieved international renown as a painter of nature subjects.

JOHN BROWNLEE LONSDALE (LORD ARMAGH-DALE), Irish political leader, and, from 1901 to 1916, whip of the Irish Unionist Party in the House of Commons, in London, June 8, aged 74.

SIR MORTIMER DURAND, British Ambassador to the United States, 1903-6, and for thirty years a diplomatic representative of Great Britain in Asia, at Minehead, Somerset, England, June 8, aged 74.

ALBERT CARR, American engineer, at East Orange, N. J., June 18, aged 65. Mr. Carr built subways in the principal cities of the world and was one of the engineers in charge of the reconstruction of San Francisco after the earthquake of 1906.

TERENCE POWDERLY, American labor leader, former Commissioner General of Immigration and, from 1879 to 1893, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, at Washington, D. C., June 24, aged 75.

EDWARD C. LITTLE, at Washington, D. C., June 27, aged 66. Mr. Little, a Republican, was serving his fourth term as a Representative from Kansas.

PRINCE MASAYOSHI MATSUKATA, Japanese statesman, at Tokio, July 2, aged 89.

REAR ADMIRAL OSCAR F. STANTON, U. S. N.,

retired, American naval officer, at New London, Conn., July 5, aged 89. Admiral Stanton was in command of the U. S. S. Pinola in the memorable Battle of Mobile Bay during the Civil War.

ALVEY A. ADEE, Second Assistant Secretary of State and an outstanding figure in American diplomacy since 1869, at Washington, D. C., July 4, aged 82.

B. G. LAMME, American engineer, at East Liberty, Pa., July 8, aged 60. During his career Mr. Lamme invented 150 important electrical devices which brought him world-wide recognition.

DR. ISAAC A. HOURWICH, counsel for the Soviet Bureau in New York and a noted Russian revolutionist and author, at New York, July 8, aged 64.

BRIG. GEN. JAMES B. ERWIN, retired, Adjutant General of the United States Army, 1914-15, and distinguished American soldier, at Pasadena, Cal., July 10, aged 68.

PROFESSOR ALFRED MARSXALL, British economist, at Cambridge, England, July 13, aged 82. Professor Marshall held the chair of Political Economy at Cambridge and was widely known as an author.

ROBERT APPELEGARTH, pioneer British labor leader, at Thornton Heath, London, July 13, aged 90.



World Finance—A Month's Survey

By FRANCIS H. SISSON

Prominent American Financier

DESPITE the fact that politics is the dominant interest of the majority of the American people at present, it would seem to be clearly established that the continued decline of industrial production in the last month, which has now assumed the proportions of a fairly general readjustment, has resulted chiefly, if not wholly, from economic causes. Industry in general during the last thirty days has proceeded at levels materially lower than those of a year ago, although retail trade, while declining, appeared to be somewhat larger than in the corresponding period last year.

Low interest rates and a plethora of loanable funds in the money market have commanded particular attention. Various factors operated in producing this situation, the most important being the continued flow of gold imports and the increase in banking reserves. The Spring and Summer reaction, and in some lines positive depression, which have characterized general business and reduced the demand for loanable funds, have also influenced money rates. There was, in fact, no such expansion of bank loans of all kinds in the first half of this year as was witnessed in the corresponding period of last year (although loans on stocks and bonds in the last few weeks have increased greatly and are at the highest point since 1920). That, in the opinion of many bankers, suggests the extent to which the abundance of loanable funds now is due to the heavy imports of gold. Another important element in the situation is the fact that easy money and a good security market have made it possible for many concerns successfully to float bond and stock issues, thus relieving their banks.

Prices of bonds have in the last few weeks moved to the highest levels attained since 1922, and with the exception of that year to the highest prices since the war. This was due chiefly to the large amount of investment funds in the banks and other financial institutions. The advance in United States Government issues led the rise, and Liberty bonds, except the first issue, have reached new high levels. By July 9 new high quotations and a continuation of the heavy trading activity in public utility stocks constituted an outstanding feature of the securities market.

HUNGARIAN LOAN

This condition offered a favorable opportunity for the public offering in the United States on July 2 of the \$7,500,000 of the new Hungarian

reconstruction loan bonds. This constituted the American participation in a total loan of \$50,000,000, the remainder of which was offered in European countries. Though only a small loan for this market, it was the most interesting and significant in the last thirty days. Reports here and from London were to the effect that the loan was very successful, owing to the powerful auspices under which it appeared. As in the case of the Austrian loan some time ago, the Hungarian loan was issued under a plan approved by the Council of the League of Nations and ratified by the Hungarian Government for the purpose of accelerating the financial and economic reconstruction of Hungary. The plan provides for the stabilization of the Hungarian currency, the balancing of the budget by increased taxation within the next two years and the establishment of an independent bank of issue, which has already been opened.

MEXICO'S UNPAID INTEREST

The International Committee of Bankers on Mexico announced on July 1 that the Mexican Government had failed to deposit sufficient funds to meet interest payments on its \$500,000,000 debt for the first six months of 1924. No further disbursements on warrants of the various bond issues involved in the debt agreement, it was explained, will therefore be made until further notice.

The offering of \$12,000,000 Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland bonds was made on July 9. They are guaranteed as to principal, interest and sinking fund by the Republic of Finland.

The fact that the American market has taken these issues of European bonds, although comparatively small in amount, provides further evidence of the broadening of the market for foreign bonds.

INCREASED DIVIDENDS

No fewer than 300 industrial and 25 railroad companies improved their dividend payments to stockholders during the first six months of this year. This improvement consisted of the payment of extra dividends, increased dividends, initial dividends, back dividends, stock dividends and so forth.

Reflecting the demands on the money market incident to the semi-annual disbursements, which

were sufficiently large to produce record bank clearings in New York, the rate on call money rose on July 1 from 2 per cent., which it had been for almost a month, to 3 per cent. The advance was considered due rather to the shifting of loans occasioned by the calling in of a substantial amount of funds by the banks than to increased demand. The temporary character of the forces causing the higher call money rate was indicated by the fact that quotations for time funds were not advanced. Subsequently, call money on the Stock Exchange was again quoted at 2 per cent.

The New York Clearing House reported on July 1 total exchanges of \$1,443,000,000, which was a new high mark. The previous record was established on Jan. 3, 1921, when clearings involved \$1,423,063,788.

TREASURY SURPLUS

At the close of the fiscal year 1924, which ended at midnight on June 30, the United States Treasury had a surplus of \$505,366,986.31, the excess of ordinary Government receipts over total expenditures chargeable against ordinary receipts.

The change in the money market since the first of the calendar year, according to Secretary Mellon, was perhaps the most material factor in bringing about the increase in the actual surplus over that estimated in October, 1923, when the fiscal year had eight months to run, that being \$329,639,624. "Liberty bonds went above par, and were not used in payment of foreign obligations for interest," explained the Secretary of the Treasury, "and railroad securities hereafter acquired by the Government could be refunded at lower interest rates by the railroads and were, therefore, paid off or purchased, and instead of net cash outgo in the railroad account there was a net cash income, making a difference of some \$120,000,000 over the earlier estimate. These, with some other minor items, gave a net increase of the actual over estimated surplus of \$175,727,362.31."

The gross public debt was reduced \$1,098,894,375.87 during the fiscal year 1924. The Government began the fiscal year 1925 on July 1 with a general fund balance of \$235,411,481.52, as compared with \$370,939,121.08 a year ago. This is the Government's bank account, and will be used to meet governmental expenditures in excess of receipts until the next income tax payment in September.

BUSINESS SITUATION

Money and banking conditions as a whole are generally considered to provide a fundamental safeguard for business and constitute one of the strongest influences toward stabilization, but accumulations of disproportionate stocks of goods are probably more general than is supposed.

While distributors as a whole have followed a conservative buying policy, this has entailed in many cases the carrying of unduly large inventories by manufacturers. That production has been curtailed to conform more closely to current rates of consumption is, however, one of the most wholesome factors in the present situation.

The sharp decline in the production of iron and steel has extended into July, as was expected. Steel ingot production in the United States in June was 2,056,466 tons, as compared with 2,628,261 tons in May and 3,767,256 tons in June, 1923. The daily average was 82,259 tons for the twenty-five working days of June. The monthly total was the smallest for more than two years. Steel mills are running at about 50 per cent. of capacity. Steel output in the second quarter of 1924 showed a marked falling off from the first three months. In March ingot production established a high record for all time, the daily output being 159,455 tons. January and February production was also large. In March the United States Steel Corporation operated on an average of about 94 per cent., and for one week of that month at close to capacity. Independents operated about 80 per cent. Beginning with April reduction in operation was rapid. This was occasioned principally by slowing up in demand. Steel producers evidently were determined to prevent the piling up of stocks, and as buyers showed a disposition to hold back, steelmaking was curtailed to meet actual demand. In the past three months consumers have covered only on actual requirements. Prompt deliveries by railroads and uncertainty regarding the price situation were the principal causes that induced buyers to commit themselves for only a few weeks' demand.

Prices of steel products have declined steadily since April, 1923. In that month the average stood at \$60.64 a gross ton. The average for June, 1924, was \$54.95. In the intervening months the decline was gradual. The major part of the decline, however, was said to be caused by small producers cutting under the market to secure business. Recent advices from steel centres indicate that prices are being stabilized.

REDUCED AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTION

The recent marked recession in the production of automotive vehicles continued throughout June and into July, but there would seem to be no question that the industry, both as to sales and production, has been and continues to be above the level of normal business activity. During the first five months of this year 1,588,567 passenger cars were produced, or 95,053 more than in the corresponding period last year. In the same months 163,710 trucks were turned out, or 4,706 more than during the first five months of 1923. Production of tires has been reduced about 25 per cent. since March.

Indications are that exports of American cars

and trucks in the first six months of this year established a new high record. Contrasted with the slight decline in domestic sales in the first half of the year, the steady growth of foreign markets for American passenger cars has attracted considerable attention. For the first five months of this year exports of passenger cars were 70,149, compared with 52,245 in the first months of 1923, a gain of 33 1-3 per cent. Truck exports in the first five months were 12,481, against 9,849, a gain of 26 per cent. June exports are expected to add approximately 15,000 vehicles to the total, bringing the first six months figures to between 95,000 and 100,000. This would compare with 75,580 in the first six months of 1923, and 91,611 in 1920, the previous record year.

Petroleum refineries of the United States established another new high record of gasoline production in May, when the total output amounted to 780,194,019 gallons, according to an announcement of the Department of Interior through the Bureau of Mines on July 9. This surpassed by more than 25,000,000 gallons the high record made in April, which had in turn passed by 11,000,000 gallons the previous high record set in March. Domestic consumption of gasoline in May totaled 658,006,516 gallons, against 609,077,546 gallons in April and 582,535,781 gallons in May, 1923. The largest supply of gasoline yet recorded was on hand at refineries on June 1, amounting to 1,647,359,835 gallons, which was 39,573,431 gallons more than was on hand on May 1, at which time a new high mark was recorded.

The building industry continued very active throughout June and into July. The distribution of activity is increasingly irregular, but the highest scale of operations still prevails in the large cities.

Woolen mills are not running more than about 50 per cent. of capacity, while cotton mill operations are down to about 35 per cent. Curtailment of paper production has begun.

Mail order houses reported increased business for June as compared with the corresponding month of 1923. Likewise, the sales of the larger chain-store organizations were greater in June this year than in June last year.

MORE BUSINESS FAILURES

There were 1,607 business insolvencies in the United States during June, which was considerably fewer than for the earlier months of the year, but contrasted with 1,358 defaults reported in June, 1923. For the second quarter of this year there were 5,130 insolvencies, compared with 5,655 for the first three months and 4,408 in the second quarter of 1923. For the six months of 1924 there were 10,785 business failures, against 9,724 a year ago. As in May, a feature of the record of insolvencies in June this year was the

falling off in the number of larger failures. Only forty-six of the larger failures were reported for June, with total liabilities of \$14,127,971; for May there were fifty-nine, and the indebtedness was \$15,237,425, while in April there were seventy-one, with an indebtedness of \$29,060,961. In June, 1923, there were forty-seven of the larger defaults, with liabilities of \$13,748,460. Defaulting manufacturing concerns were especially fewer in this June.

DECREASED RAILROAD REVENUES

The net income of the Class 1 railroads for May, reported on July 5, was \$60,595,197, compared with \$90,252,652 in May last year, a decrease of \$29,657,455. In April, 1924, the operating income was \$61,821,900. At this rate the return on the tentative valuation of the railroad property was equivalent to approximately 4.22 per cent., compared with 6.33 in the same month of 1923. The sharp falling off in gross business compared with the same month a year ago accounts in a large measure for the decline in the net. The gross for May was \$477,229,000, a decrease of \$70,657,800, or 12.9 per cent., in comparison with the same month last year.

For the first five months of this year the Class 1 railroads had a net operating income of \$325,172,660, compared with \$358,435,740 for the same period of last year. The net operating income is approximately 9 per cent. below the same period of last year, despite the economies that have been put into effect on some of the railroads. Reports for May show that forty railroads operated at a loss. Of this number, eighteen were in the Eastern district and twenty-two in the Western district. This is the same number of railroads as reported deficits in April, 1924. The report shows that the railroads in May, compared with the same month a year ago, continued the reduction of their maintenance expenses. Maintenance of equipment and way totaled \$178,656,563, a reduction of \$21,647,159, or nearly 11 per cent., compared with May of last year. Maintenance expenditures for the first five months in 1924 totaled \$853,988,810, compared with \$902,274,655 in the same period of last year. This is a reduction of \$51,285,845.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

The last two weeks of June and the first two of July provided better growing weather generally for many crops of the country, and this fact, combined with the recent improvement in the wheat market and the Department of Agriculture forecast of a cotton crop above expectation, has greatly encouraged several farm regions.

A cotton crop of 12,144,000 bales this year was indicated by the Government's report on July 2. The condition of the crop on June 25 was 71.2 per cent. of normal, compared with 65.6 per cent.

on May 25 this year, 69.9 per cent. on June 25 of last year, and 74.8 per cent. average on June 25 for the last ten years. The area of cotton in cultivation is about 40,403,000 acres, an increase of 1,702,000 acres, or 4.4 per cent., as compared with the revised estimates of acreage a year ago, and is the largest acreage ever indicated in the history of the industry.

The forecast of a corn crop 531,000,00 bushels smaller than last year's and better prospects than a month ago for the wheat crop were the outstanding features of the report on July 9 of the Department of Agriculture based on July 1 condition. Corn production this year will be about 2,515,000,000 bushels; last year 3,046,000,000 bushels were harvested. Winter wheat production is forecast at 543,000,000 bushels and Spring wheat at 197,000,000 bushels, making a total wheat crop estimated at 740,000,000 bushels. The condition of the crops on July 1, on which the forecasts were based, was: Winter wheat 77.9 per cent. of normal, Spring wheat 81.9 per cent., and all wheat 79; corn, 72 per cent. The acreage of corn is 105,604,000 acres, or 101.4 per cent. of last year's acreage. Wheat remaining on the farms on July 1 was estimated at 30,696,000 bushels, or 3.9 per cent. of last year's crop, as compared with 35,894,000 bushels on July 1 of the five years 1918-22.

The harvest of Winter wheat was in progress during the second week of July northward to Central Nebraska and Southern Iowa and the central portions of Indiana and Illinois, and in the East to Southeastern Pennsylvania. The weather was exceptionally favorable for Spring wheat in most sections of the principal producing areas.

The economic condition of the farmers in the United States is steadily improving, according to an announcement issued on July 2 by the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture. It points out that the exchange value of farm products for the things that farmers buy now stands at the highest point in nearly four years. The improvement in the position of the farmer is attributed to the continued slow decline in prices of non-agricultural commodities, although at the same time agricultural products have held their own. The Department of Agriculture's index of the purchasing power of farm products in terms of other commodities is 77 for May, using the year 1913 as a basis of 100.

The Department of Agriculture's review states that the corn crop promises to be a pivotal factor in the entire meat and dairy situation of 1925. Wheat growers are reported to be in a more cheerful frame of mind over the recent advances in wheat due to a smaller prospective world crop.

GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain's semi-annual interest payment on the World War debt owed to the United

States Government, amounting to approximately \$69,000,000, was made on June 16 by check. All previous payments have been in the form of Liberty bonds; but on account of the price of Libertys at the time the payment was arranged, it was more economical for Great Britain to make the settlement by check against its credit balance in the United States. The general situation may be said to be more satisfactory in Great Britain than at any period since the war.

BELGIUM

Recent developments in Belgium have been dominated by exchange movements. According to information from the Belgian Embassy at Washington, it appears that the dredging of the Scheldt is proceeding satisfactorily and that the ship channel to Antwerp will soon be restored to normal conditions. During the first four months of this year 6,909,000 tons of shipping entered the port of Antwerp, as compared with 6,726,000 tons in the corresponding period last year; and 7,023,000 tons of shipping cleared in the same period, as compared with 6,692,000 tons in the corresponding period of 1923. Preliminary figures for the month of May, 1924, show approximately the same average as figures for the preceding month, and indicate that the traffic of the port this year will probably show another increase over 1923, which has been the "banner year" in the history of Antwerp.

FRANCE

Analysts of the results of the recent French election, in which the parties of the Left made so sweeping a recovery, find in the high cost of living and in heavy taxation the principal reasons for the political change. The new Government, however, like the old, is confronted with a difficult financial situation and can scarcely modify materially the present tax conditions if the requirements of the budget are to be met. France enjoyed a favorable balance of trade for the first four months of the present year of 1,483,372,000 francs. The favorable balance for March alone was 732,091,000 francs. For the first three months of this year the balance was 748,482,000 francs, comparing with a deficit of 394,279,000 francs for the corresponding three months of 1923. French pig iron production for May, according to official statistics made available on July 5, totaled 658,000 metric tons, as compared with 651,000 tons in April, an increase of 7,000 tons. France's output of raw steel in May amounted to 599,000 tons, as compared with 567,000 during the preceding month, while blast furnaces in operation on June 1 numbered 135, or only one less than on the first of the preceding month.

GERMANY

The elections in Germany have brought about a difficult political situation which may hinder the favorable development of the Dawes proposals, especially those relating to the railways of the nation. A two-thirds vote of the Reichstag is required for the approval of the plan to capitalize the roads for the benefit of reparations. In a test vote in June approval by 247 to 183 votes was given of the position of the Government of Chancellor Marx in favor of the Dawes report. A Nationalist motion of non-confidence in the Government was rejected by a vote of 239 to 194. These figures do not, however, indicate that the necessary two-thirds vote can be readily secured with respect to the required railroad legislation.

ITALY

The figures for the first quarter of the year, made public in this country on July 1, reveal an encouraging growth in Italy's foreign trade. The so-called unfavorable balance of trade was reduced during the first three months of 1924 about 924,000,000 lire over the corresponding period of 1923, standing at the close of the quarter in 1924 at 1,458,000,000 lire, whereas at the end of the first quarter in 1923 it aggregated 2,382,000,000 lire. Italy's trade balance has shifted in her favor with all the leading countries except the United States and Great Britain, from which Italy draws the largest requirements of foodstuffs, raw materials and coal. Stabilization of the lira has largely helped the increase in Italian commerce. It is manifest that Italy is now passing through a very important economic development. In the past she was a weak country, economically and politically, and was, therefore, bound to follow closely the stronger world powers. Today Italy is busy producing and working; economically she is stronger. A large part of the economic power formerly exercised by other Continental countries is now slowly but visibly passing to the penin-

sula. The loan of 400,000,000 lire recently made by an Italian bank to Poland for industrial purposes is a clear result of the change in the European financial structure.

INCREASING STABILITY IN EUROPE

Additional proof of the growing stability of economic affairs in Europe is now afforded by the reaction against the movement for extremely high tariffs and restrictive trade measures which has marked the commercial policies of most of the European nations since the war. Currencies have, in general, now reached an approximately stable basis and the nations are freeing trade from special restrictions and taking action to facilitate the exchange of products across their borders. In connection with the labors of the Dawes committee, it is recognized that an essential requirement for the restoration of Central Europe is the early provision of new capital to sustain the financial and economic structure during the difficult and harassing period of rehabilitation. Without liberal loans, Germany and Hungary, as was the case with Austria, cannot hope to balance their budgets and stabilize their currencies. The plans of the Dawes committee provide for a loan of approximately \$200,000,000 to Germany for her essential requirements for reconstruction. In Hungary, also, the loan of \$50,000,000 just floated is needed to carry forward the work that is being undertaken under the direction of the League of Nations. It has taken a long time to reach the present situation where these countries at last seem ready to submit to the discipline and political restraint that are required to make a success of the plans devised to aid a return to economic and financial stability. The suffering and impoverishment which political strife and inflation have brought upon them were perhaps necessary to induce a willingness to accept the terms upon which alone a satisfactory condition can be re-established. There are many evidences that such a state of mind now exists.



American Investments In Foreign Securities

By GILMER SILER

BEFORE August, 1914, the amount of foreign securities held by American investors was relatively small. The trend of investment had been heavily in the other direction, viz., toward the purchase of American securities by investors of other nations. The fact that, in this country, return on capital was higher than that obtainable with comparable security in Europe, made borrowers of us, and of Europe willing lenders.

It is probable that the middle of 1914 found Americans holding less than \$400,000,000 of foreign securities. None of the European powers at that time had important amounts of their Government obligations held here. Our holdings were chiefly Government or corporation bonds of China, Japan, Latin America and Canada. Among these heavy investments in Mexico were in 1914 under the shadow of political disturbances then threatening that country; but this, as a deterrent to foreign lending, was offset by the excellent faith and credit of our neighbor to the north.

The Federal Reserve Board issued figures in February, 1924, showing that the \$400,000,000 held in 1914 had jumped by the end of 1918 to approximately \$3,500,000,000, covering holdings of European, Far East, Canadian and Latin American origin, of which probably less than \$500,000,000 was for refunding of issues. This sum was in addition to the advances made to our Allies through the United States Treasury. Such advances up to Dec. 31, 1918, aggregated \$7,656,016,000. Cash advances to our former Allies have since been increased by more than \$1,900,000,000, as well as further allowances in acceptance by our Government of foreign obligations in payment of various debts incident to post-war adjustments.

The borrowings of American capital by Europe, the Far East, Latin America and North America since January, 1919, are summarized in the table, reproduced below from the Federal Reserve Bulletin, showing foreign loans placed in the United States between the years 1919-1923:

[IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS.]

	Total.	Gov- ernment.	U. S. Pos- sessions.	Cor- porate.
1919.....	\$681,707	\$564,559	\$11,700	\$105,448
1920.....	621,512	376,609	16,277	228,626
1921.....	675,317	478,305	27,145	169,867
1922.....	897,208	626,758	50,373	220,077
1923.....	398,217	291,908	8,186	98,123

This tabulation, which is incomplete, includes

money subscribed for refunding operations, as well as for new capital loans, but indicates the continued willingness of investors of the country to venture on commitments abroad when the rate of income and soundness of security are sufficiently inviting. In round figures, the growth of this inclination could be roughly gauged by the following comparison:

Total foreign bonds floated in U. S.	
to August, 1914.....	\$500,000,000
Total foreign bonds floated in U. S.	
August, 1914, to January, 1919.....	3,500,000,000
Total foreign bonds floated in U. S.	
January, 1919, to January, 1924.....	3,250,000,000

The total foreign loans (including Canadian), Government, corporate and municipal, floated in the United States from Jan. 1, 1924, to June 1, 1924, amount in round numbers to \$378,000,000, the chief items being: Japan \$150,000,000, Netherlands \$40,000,000, Argentine \$60,000,000, Switzerland \$30,000,000, Rotterdam \$6,000,000, Sweden (notes) \$15,000,000, Buenos Aires \$8,000,000, Canadian, about \$50,000,000.

From this it is evident that the annual interest due and payable to us on foreign securities is now greater than was our entire capital investment in such issues in 1914. Estimates made by the Finance and Investment Division of the Department of Commerce of interest payments made direct to United States investors on account of foreign securities show over \$260,000,000 for the year 1923.

The inquiry which naturally arises is: Do the amounts of American money loaned to foreign borrowers in the past ten years establish the ascendancy of the United States in the world market for capital?

Figures compiled by The London Statist show that foreign and colonial capital issued sold in Great Britain in 1923 totaled £129,828,000. In 1922 they were £146,306,000. Commenting upon these figures, and noting the reduction in British foreign loans in 1923, the Federal Reserve Bulletin observes: "A comparison of the British with our own figures shows that in 1922 combined colonial and foreign capital issues in Great Britain were 28 per cent. less than in the United States, while in 1923 they were about 50 per cent. larger than like issues in this country."

Irrespective of whether claims could be substantiated that this country has pushed ahead to first place in the ranks of creditor nations, it is still a matter to ponder over that in ten years the financial prestige of the nation has been advanced to an important place in the capital markets of the world.

Contemporary History and Biography

MY PAST AND THOUGHTS: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen. Translated from the Russian by Constance Garnett. 776 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

New sidelights on the struggle for liberty in imperial Russia during the nineteenth century are contained in these opening volumes of the life of a foremost Russian revolutionist. After sketching with light, quick lines his aristocratic youth, Herzen passes on to his years of exile in London, from which city much of his propaganda was conducted. The work has a high intrinsic value as literature and is indispensable for a complete understanding of Russian history.

THE LIFE OF WOODROW WILSON. By Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, 1913-21. 381 pp. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company. \$2.50.

Mr. Daniels draws a very sympathetic portrait of the War President; the detachment which makes for discernment is lacking, and the author is rather too much inclined to see only the best side of his subject. The biography has definite value, however, as an aid to historians; Mr. Daniels's long service in President Wilson's Cabinet lends authority to the facts he sets forth. The chapter entitled "Current History" throws much light on the Federal Reserve System, and Mr. Wilson's part in its development. Many important points are ignored by Mr. Daniels, who confines himself chiefly to a personal eulogy; scattered through the book, however, one finds intimate glimpses of Woodrow Wilson which aid the reader toward an understanding of this great American.

THE TRUE STORY OF WOODROW WILSON. By David Lawrence, 368 pp. New York: George H. Doran Company. \$2.50.

A very different Wilson is chronicled by Mr. Lawrence—a Wilson almost abjectly dependent upon feminine stimulation, a Wilson of mercurial moods, naturally obstinate, pedagogical and unforgiving. Mr. Lawrence, withal, writes as a warm admirer, and the portrait he sketches creates an impression of reality. Though replete with superficial gossip, the book is a definite contribution to Wilson literature. Mr. Lawrence tells of the President's wrath on hearing that France had invaded the Ruhr. Mr. Wilson, the author says, told Mr. James Kearney, an old friend, that he

"should like to see Germany clean up France and should like to meet Jusserand and tell him to his face."

What Mr. Wilson meant * * * was that the march into the Ruhr and the tactics of the French toward Germany had made him feel more sympathetic toward the vanquished Germans than toward a group in France which he had often characterized as militarists.

Mr. Lawrence offers this interesting explanation

of Wilson's refusal to modify his attitude on the League of Nations:

Had he retained his health, Woodrow Wilson, just as sure as day follows night, would have accepted the Lodge reservations to the Versailles Treaty and secured thereby for the United States a membership in the League of Nations. He was almost persuaded to do so on his sick bed, but his illness induced a consciousness of incertitude which with the exclusion of outside advice made him irritable and inflexible.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS DURING THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. By Bertha Ann Reuter. 208 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

The steadily ripening friendship between Great Britain and the United States is one of the few rays of light in our discord-shadowed world. Miss Reuter discusses and interprets this sentiment through the medium of the Spanish-American War. Concentrating upon her theme, the author presents much important material in a condensed form. Exceeding the local significance of the conflict itself, her analysis bears specifically upon the present-day Anglo-American relationship.

ETHICS AND SOME WORLD MODERN PROBLEMS. By William McDougall, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE. By C. Delisle Burns. 159 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. \$1.75.

These latest additions to the literature on international affairs offer the student two interesting contributions, though that of Professor McDougall is based upon a superficial and unsound generalization, which attempts to trace the world's conflicts to a clash between nationalism and universalism. A chronicle of the actual achievements along international lines is the task Mr. Burns has set himself. He sees the world as gradually tending toward unity, and his history of this international trend offers much to substantiate this view.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. New York: The Century Company.

Refreshing candor and sharp criticism distinguish Mr. Gibbons's observations on America's relation to international affairs. Of especial interest is his comment on America's attitude toward struggling young republics; America, he writes, has always had personal ends in mind whenever she has extended recognition to a new nation:

Recognition has become and it has remained a matter of expediency. The United States has never since pretended to show its sympathy and throw its moral support into the balance, in any case of a people struggling against odds for independence or making its way from autocracy to democracy by internal revolution.